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SCOTTISH MYTHS.

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NOTES ON SCOTTISH HISTORY AND TRADITION

BY

ROBERT CRAIG MACLAGAN, ~~M.D.~~

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Mythology. Scotland

"Is i'n fhirinn a sheasas."

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SCOTTISH MYTHS.

It is somewhat remarkable that of the parentage claimed for Welsh, Irish, or Scot, there is none from our Roman invaders, though, as Camden says, "meet it is we should believe, that the Britons and Romans in so many ages, by a blessed and joyfull mutual engraffing, as it were, have grown into one stock and nation, seeing that the Ubii in Germany, within twenty-eight years after a colony was planted, where now Colein is, made answer to their countrymen as touching the Roman inhabitants there, in this wise :—*This is the natural country as well to those that being conveyed hither in time past, are conjoined with us by marriages, as to their offspring. Neither can we think you so unreasonable as to wish us for to kill our parents, brethren, and children.*"[1]

The Roman legionary troops employed in the conquest of Britain were not, even a majority of them, Italians. The auxiliaries were of all nations. Petilius Cerealis, addressing the Treviri, said, when explaining their relations with the Romans: "To maintain the tranquillity of nations arms are necessary, soldiers must be kept in pay, and, without a tribute, supplies

[1] Camden, p. 88.

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cannot be raised, all other things are placed on a footing of equality" (between them and the Romans); "our legions are often commanded by you; you are governors of your own provinces, and even of others; nothing is reserved to ourselves, no exclusiveness exercised."

Tacitus says: "There is no strength in the Roman armies, but it is of foreign strangers;"[1] and to go back a century before his time, we are told of Pompey's legions in Spain: "Two were natives (Spaniards), one was formed out of the Roman colonies in those parts, and a fourth, belonging to Afranius, he had brought with him from Africa. The rest were for the most part made up of fugitives and deserters."[2] This may not be a fair example, but it is evident that a Roman soldier was not necessarily a Roman. The long occupation of modern Wales by the Romans has undoubtedly coloured Welsh traditions, but the Welsh call themselves "Cymri," as the Irish and Scotch Highlanders call themselves "Gael."

I wish at present to devote attention specially to two tribes who did good service to the Romans in Wales and Scotland, if not also in Ireland.

The first of these, the Batavians, Tacitus tells us, were a tribe of the great nation of the Catti, who inhabited part of the Hercynian forest, and had latterly settled chiefly on an island in the Rhine, washed on the north extremity by the ocean, and at the back and both sides by the river. They furnished men and arms for the empire, and afterwards (he speaks before Agricola's invasion of Wales) "added to their fame by their service in Britain, whither cohorts of them were conveyed under the command of the most distinguished chiefs of their country, in conformity with

[1] Tacitus, *History*, B. iv. c. 74. [2] *Commentaries on Spanish War*, c. 7.

their long established practice." Long before this, the early and high esteem in which they were held by the Romans was evinced by their being called friends and brothers of the Roman people. They are said to have decided the battle of Pharsalia (B.C. 48) in Cæsar's favour, and to have had the honour of forming the Prætorian guard. A portion of the same people were called Canninefates, and one of them, Ganascus, deserted the Romans, became a desperate pirate, and in alliance with the mass of his countrymen under Julius or Claudius Civilis, and assisted by the Frisii,—a nation which seems subsequently to some extent to have settled in North Britain,—and a cohort of Tungri, attacked the Roman fleet nominally as partisans of Vespasian against Vitellius. Those having been joined by cohorts of Batavians and Canninefates raised for the Roman service, a war began which was at last brought to a conclusion by Petilius Cerealis, and it was subsequently to the conclusion of peace that we find them in Britain under Agricola.

The other tribe was the Tungri, of whose origin we have the following account in Tacitus's *Manners of the Germans*, c. 2 :—

"The name of Germany they (the Germans) assert to be a modern addition, for that the people who first crossed the Rhine and expelled the Gauls and are now called Tungri, were then named Germans, which appellation of a particular tribe, not of a whole people, gradually prevailed, so that the title of Germans, first assumed by the victors in order to excite terror, was afterwards adopted by the nation in general."

When Cæsar defeated the Nervii, the Aduatici who were on the point of joining them, hearing of their disaster, left their other towns and retired to a

town eminently fortified by nature. This town was surrounded by precipices on all sides but one, which side ascending with a gradual slope, and about 200 feet broad, was fortified with a very lofty double wall. This was called Aduatica Tungrorum. They surrendered to Cæsar. But, they treacherously attacking his men, he delivered their town over to plunder, and sold the inhabitants, amounting, as he says himself, to 53,000 persons. This town, the modern Tongres, a town of Liége on the Jaar, was situated in the centre of the Eburones, a German people, the names of whose chiefs, however, have a Celtic sound.

These Aduatici, according to Cæsar, "were descended from the Cimbri and Teutones, who, when they were marching into our province and Italy, having deposited on this side of the Rhine such of their baggage trains as they could not drive or take with them, left 6000 of their men as a guard for them. These, having after the destruction of their countrymen been harassed for many years by their neighbours, while one time they waged war offensively, at another resisted it when waged against them, concluded a peace with the consent of all, and chose this place as their settlement."[1]

When the Batavians, on the death of Vitellius, declared themselves independent, they were attacked by Claudius Labeo, a Batavian by birth, with a force of Betasians, Tungrians, and Nervians; but during the battle, Civilis, appealing to the Tungrians, they went over to the side of the other Belgae, and, says Tacitus, "at that moment Campanus and Juvenalis, the leading chieftains of the Tungrians, surrendered the whole nation to Civilis." Cerealis designates as Cimbri and Teutones the Batavians and Tungrians

[1] Cæsar's *Gallic War*, B. ii. c. 29.

thus united, while warning the Treviri against their alliance. We thus see the continuance of the claim of these Tungri to be considered Cimbri, and its general acceptance by those who were the prime agents in conquering the west and north of Britain under the command of Agricola who went to Britain in A.D. 78, but nine years after the above-mentioned event.

Agricola's first campaign was against the Ordovices of North Wales, and leading in person an advance party with the vexillarii (or veterans embodied to render assistance to the legions if necessary, guard the frontier, and garrison recently conquered provinces), and a small body of auxiliaries almost completely extirpated them.

He then resolved to make an attempt on Mona = Anglesea; but, being unprovided with transport, he attacked it in the following manner. "A select body of auxiliaries, disencumbered of their baggage, who were well acquainted with the fords, and accustomed, after the manner of their country, to direct their horses and manage their arms while swimming, were ordered suddenly to plunge into the channel."

Tacitus in his History tells us that the Batavians "in their own country also maintained a chosen body of cavalry, so remarkably expert in swimming, that in whole squadrons, with their arms and keeping hold of their horses, they could make good their way across the Rhine."[2]

These two passages seem to point to the Batavians as the cavalry alluded to in the first. Mona surrendered. In his next winter Agricola provided a liberal education for the sons of the British chiefs, and both the language and dress of the Romans began to be used. In his third year he penetrated to the Tay,

[1] *Agricola*, c. 18. [2] Tacitus, *History*, B. iv. c. 12.

we are told, and built fortifications ; but as it was not till the summer which began his sixth year that "he extended his views to the countries beyond Bodotria," *i.e.* the Forth, it seems possible that his fleet had visited the Firth of Tay while he advanced up the west coast, and passed thence across to the east for the first time in this sixth year. That this was so is borne out by the fact that in his fifth campaign, "Agricola, crossing over in the first ship, subdued, by frequent and successful engagements, several nations till then unknown, and stationed troops in that part of Britain opposite to Ireland, rather with a view to future advantage than from any apprehension of danger from that quarter."

Tacitus's description of Ireland is so well known that it is unnecessary to repeat it here ; and it is certainly not corroborative evidence of the account the Irish writers give of things at that, or even at an anterior, period. In the summer of his seventh year Agricola advanced to the Grampians. Here he met and overcame Galgacus, in whose speech, as reported, with reference to the remainder of a Roman progenies in Scotland, we find the following among the causes Galgacus gave for resistance, that the Roman army, composed of Gauls, Germans, and Britons, without wives to animate them, parents to upbraid their flight, without home, or only a distant one, polluted their wives and sisters under the guise of friendship and hospitality.

Agricola having also addressed his troops, and the time for action having arrived, dismissed his horse, and took his station on foot before the standards. Tacitus, in his not very clear account of the action, says :—"Agricola then encouraged three *Batavian* and two *Tungrian* cohorts to fall in and come to close

quarters, a method of fighting familiar to those veteran soldiers, but embarrassing to the enemy from the nature of their arms, for the enormous British swords, blunt at the point, are unfit for close grappling and engaging in a confined space. When the Batavians then began to redouble their blows, to strike with the bosses of their shields, and mangle the faces of the enemy, and bearing down all those who resisted them on the plain, were advancing their line up the ascent, the other cohorts, fired with ardour and emulation, joined in the charge, and overthrew all who came in their way."[1]

Indeed, there can be no doubt as to the important part played here by these Belgae, who were partly at least Cimbri by descent, nor as to their leader being well fitted to become a legendary hero. Observe the similarity in the meaning of the name. Agricola = a husbandman or ploughman. Arddwr (dd = th) = a ploughman, Welsh,—the Arthur of Cimbro-British legend.

In the lists of Ptolemy, the Greek geographer, who wrote about forty years (A.D. 120) after this, we see how rapid had been the growth of towns in Britain; and in the line of Agricola's advance north of the Brigantes along the west coast, across to the south of Perthshire, and up to the Spey, including some on the east coast, we find no fewer than twenty enumerated.

These towns, indicating a settled state of civilisation, can scarcely have been inhabited by the natives, who in the war of Caractacus were so far behind in the arts as to have had no armour or helmets (A.D. 50),[2] and are described in the following terms by Herodian so late as the time of Severus (A.D. 208):—

"They by habit swim across the marshes without

[1] Tacitus, *Agricola*, c. 36.

[2] Tacitus, *Annals*, B. xii. c. 35.

difficulty, or wade through them, wetting themselves up to their loins, for they are almost totally naked, and take no care for the mud. They are unacquainted with the use of clothes, and adorn their necks and flanks with iron rings, to which, as an ornament, they attach as much value as other nations do to gold. They puncture their bodies with figures of all sorts of animals, which is one reason why they have not adopted the use of clothing, that the figures may not be concealed. They are a warlike and courageous race of men, and are armed with a small shield and spear, and a sword suspended from their naked bodies. They are unacquainted with the use of a breastplate or helmet, which they think would be an encumbrance in passing the marshes."[1]

During the interval between Agricola and Severus we find that Lollius Urbicus had (A.D. 138) built a wall from Forth to Clyde, and driven the barbarians beyond it. But in 161 they broke through the wall, and again, in 180, after which Ulpius Marcellus, being sent against them, cruelly worsted them, but without leaving traces of his having made any settlement north of the Forth.

In A.D. 201 we have the first appearance of the Maeatae, who, when on the point of making an alliance with the Caledonii, were persuaded by the Roman governor to resile from this.

Severus is said to have pushed his way to the north shore of the island, but immediately retiring southwards, refortified the wall from Forth to Clyde (A.D. 210).[2] So lightly, however, did imperial Rome lie on the shoulders of the inhabitants of the north that that very year they were in arms against her. In 287 Carausius, a Menapian, most likely a Batavian,

[1] Giles, p. 237.

[2] Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, i. 89.

(Menapia being in Belgium, south of the Rhine, though the title Menapian might apply also to an inhabitant of South Wales, or to the Irish country round Dublin), from being Admiral of the Roman fleet, became acknowledged ruler of Britain, and is said to have been in the district near the Forth,—but for this we have no sufficient authority. From that time till A.D. 360 all modern Scotland seems to have been really independent of Rome, and had become sufficiently powerful to harass South Britain beyond the power of effective retaliation, until the incursions of the Picts and Scots called for the active interference of the Roman power.

I would now call attention to the meanings applicable to the names of these North British tribes.

Skene, quoting Xiphiline, says:—"The nation of the Maeatae consisted of those tribes which were situated next the wall between the Forth and Clyde on the north; the Caledonii lay beyond them. The former inhabited the more level districts, or, as the historian describes them, the plains and marshes, from which, indeed, they probably derived their name, *Magh*, a plain."

In accordance with this derivation the Saxon *mead*, a meadow, comes nearer the signification and sound, but other circumstances tempt me to hazard the following as the derivation. In Xiphiline the name is Μαιάται, and in the Walloon language we find "Màie," the name of the month of May, is also applied "to a tree planted on the first of May" (Beltain, the greatest of Gaelic holydays), and "more generally to a branch cut with its green leaves, and of which use is made to ornament the fronts of dwellings."

Mâie, masc., is a marble for playing with, *bille* in French, evidently allied to the Gaelic *ball*, a ball globe.

Mâie—fem.—are the meshes of a net (rings of mail, the spots on a partridge's wing), and *Maiète* is a ring put through a pig's nose to prevent it from grubbing.

If I am right in taking the root as we have it in the Walloon, as most likely the nearest to the Greek Maîa, the Goddess of May, the proper significance of the name is connected with a religious ceremony, and is, in fact, allied to the Gaelic *maoth*, tender, soft; *maothan*, a twig, bud.

Doubtless the Maeatae, within a century hereafter (in 296 A.D.), are called Picts, which is generally accepted as meaning "spotted;" and we see the word mâie seemingly applicable to nature's tattooing on the partridge's wing. The word mâiète, applied to the nose ornament of the domestic animal, the herding of which was the occupation of Irish saints and princes, might lead one to connect the Maeats with the iron-ring-wearing savages who caused the loss of 50,000 of his soldiers to Severus, and who, esteeming iron as others gold, might have ornamented themselves as the Walloon peasant now does his pigs.

Of the three derivations, the first points to a certain culture, and I hope shortly hereafter to show that the name was accepted as bearing this signification in connection with the Picts. The name of their neighbours, the Caledonians, evidently bears a relation to the Welsh *coeledd*, groves, Gaelic, *coille*, a wood; and rather suggests that they were the more worthy representatives of native barbarism, the customs of the others being, I have little doubt, modified by their connection with the more civilised invaders. I think it is most probable that Maeatae inhabited the Lowlands of Scotland, as well as the low country east of the Dorsum Britanniae.

The Picts, first mentioned by Eumenius, the panegyrist (A.D. 296), become prominent in history in the year 360.

One of the incidents of the Batavian revolt was the seizure of the Roman ships by the Canninefates, and Tacitus informs us that, desiring to use them, and not having sails, the Batavians put to sea with them, supplied "with mantles of various colours, which made no unbecoming appearance." Now Carausius, the Batavian before mentioned, was slain by his companion Allectus, who, in his turn, in A.D. 295, was defeated by Asclepiodotus, Constantius's prefect of the fleet, and he and many of his followers, doubtless also having been followers of Carausius, were slain. Of their appearance Eumenius says: "Those barbarians, whether really or *apparently* so, who once blazed with gay (*cultu*) garments and length of hair, were then defiled with blood and dust, and lay scattered in different directions as the anguish of their wounds had driven them." This connects coloured garments with the Batavians, and has led to giving to Carausius a local habitation in Pictland. I would notice here that the only Gaelic word for what we call tartan is *breacan*, common to the Welsh, *Cymri*, as to the Gael (brychan —brecan, a striped coverlet (Spurrell)), and owes its signification to a root *breac*, signifying a spot, common, as far as I can see, to all Celtic dialects. In the Breton tongue it takes the form *briz*, though, in the dialect of the district of Vannes, it is *brech*, where a petticoat is called *brôch*, though *broz* elsewhere, which is nearer the Gaelic *brat*, *brot*, a veil, covering.

The reason for calling the Picts "spotted" is evident in the account previously given of the tattooing of themselves by the northern barbarians, a practice which, there is reason to believe, was not peculiar to the

country now called Scotland; indeed, Brîttones is nothing else than Picti, says Zeuss, p. 105; and, consequently, that name would in no way distinguish the northern from the other nations of Britain. This tattooing, where it existed, was probably connected with a religious rite. There is a derivation from the Greek which is very applicable to the soldiers of Agricola, who, we are told, struck the Caledonians with the bosses of their shields, and of the conquerors at Pharsalia, πύκτης pl. πύκται, a boxer, a pugilist; and, as I am going to suggest and maintain a Greek interpretation for the names Scot and Attacot, as well as Maeat, I think it not improbable that this signification was of weight with those who coined the name. And I believe that the following is further proof of this supposition.

I noticed already the similarity of meaning between the names Agricola and Arthur, and the probability that the chosen cavalry who attacked Mona under the Roman general were Batavians, and that these were noted in history for the somewhat peculiar use of their shields in fight. In the romances of Arthur, the "Knights of the Round Table" were his chosen companions, and the word for a table in Welsh and Gaelic now is *bord*. Now, in the ancient Saxon song of Beowulf[1] a shield is called *hilde-bord*, and these were round and small, with hollow metal bosses of the size of a small basin, tapering to a point or ending in a knob. Hilde-bord, if the first half of the word is connected with the German Held = a hero (helde = to tilt, in Danish), might mean a hero's or tilting board, or table (bord = table, Danish), and it is easy to see where confusion might arise. That the word *bord* has got into Gaelic in the meaning of

[1] Wright's *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, page 475.

shield is, I think, proved by the following from a curious and very instructive historic tale in Campbell's collection, vol. i. page 303.

A wandering champion, desirous of escaping from the castle of O'Domhnull, presumably Tara in Ireland, is hindered by the chief's "Galloglach Mor," his chief (foreign) mercenary, who threatens him, "leis a bhòrd-urchair so a' m' laimh" = "with the *shot-board* here in my hand." This instrument the narrator makes him *throw* at his adversary, with the unfortunate result of killing twenty-four of his own people, without injury to him at whom it was aimed. This was a board surely not to throw but to ward off things thrown, and can only mean a shield. This round board seems another connecting link between Agricola and the Arthurian myths.

Now, of the Batavians and Tungrians, so far as I have been able to discover, the latter have left the more copious traces of their localisation in the Lowlands of Scotland and north of England. An inscribed stone mentions the first cohort of Tungrians at Cramond and also at Polmont. Camden gives inscriptions commemorative of them at Cambeck fort on the south wall, the Petriana of the *Notitia*, about nine miles east of Carlisle, and the *Notitia* say that they were stationed at Borcovicus, nearly at the centre of the wall. The next station on the wall, Procolitia, now Carrawburgh, was held by the first cohort of Batavians; and it is noteworthy that, on the inscribed stones found at these stations, the commanders of the cohorts are always called *praefectus*, a title apparently generally applied to cavalry, as that of *tribunus* was to commanders of infantry cohorts. We thus find the Cimbric element apparently the more numerous of the two Belgic tribes who continued

in service under Rome, and the monumental stones further show, as Wright has pointed out, that they were not in temporary quarters, but had remained at their stations for long periods; and the term "*haeres*" on some of them marks a hereditary interest in the localities.[1]

These, however, appear in history as Romans, but we have indications that, whatever denomination they may claim *en masse*, individually they, and certainly their children, come under two categories. The grants of citizenship, which really conferred the coveted name of Roman, were at first sparingly granted as a reward for meritorious service. This honour, when conferred, seems to have been inscribed on a metal tablet, and sent to the place where those who were so honoured resided. The remains of some of these tablets have been found in Cheshire, Kent, and Yorkshire.[2] On the one found at Malpas, Cheshire, from Trajan, dating the 20th January, A.D. 103, to those who had served twenty-five years, and who were mentioned by name, were granted "to themselves, their children, and posterity, the rights of citizenship and marriage (civitas et connubium, civil rights dependent on legitimate marriage), with their wives whom they might then have, when citizenship was given to them, or if any of them were unmarried, with those whom they might afterwards take, that is to say, provided they have only one each." In the list of cohorts to which those who received those rights belonged, is the 1st cohort of Tungrians.

The very terms of the grant show that these invaders were bringing up families reputed illegitimate, without any claim on the government of the father —a sure result of the regulations in force, the men

[1] Wright's *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, page 308. [2] *Ibid.* p. 428.

not being likely to wait for the completion of twenty-five years' service before such would be the case. The intercourse would be with the natives, and it is curious to find in Bede that a powerful and formidable portion of the inhabitants of North Britain, viz., the Picts, founded their hereditary claims on their maternal ancestry.

"The Picts sailing over into Britain (from Ireland) began to inhabit the northern parts thereof, for the Britons were possessed of the southern. Now, the Picts had no wives" (*vide* Galgacus *supra citat.*) "and asked them of the Scots, who would not consent to grant them upon any other terms than that when any difficulty should arise, they should choose a king rather from the female royal race than from the male, which custom, as is well known, has been observed among the Picts to this day. In process of time, Britain, besides the Britons and the Picts, received a third nation, the Scots, who, migrating from Ireland under their leader Reuda, either by fair means or by force of arms, secured to themselves those settlements among the Picts which they still possess." Bede writes between 673 and 734. The Scots were temporarily driven out of Alba in 741.

Now, still another straw to show how the wind blows as to the purity of descent of the Picts. Spurrell gives us two words from the root *brith*, speckled. The one is *brithwr*, a "Pict," compounded of *gwr*, a man; the other is *brithgi*, a mongrel, compounded of *ci*, a dog. If a spotted dog was regarded as a mongrel, it was no great straining of words to apply the same term to a cross-bred man.

Now, Ammianus Marcellinus, who gives us our information about the incursions of the Picts and Scots in A.D. 360, and of the Picts, Scots, Saxons, and

Attacots in A.D. 364, says that in 368 "the Picts, who were divided into two nations, the Dicaledones and Vecturiones, and likewise the Attacotti, a very warlike people, and the Scots, were all roving over different parts (of the country) and committing great ravages."[1] Skene, in his introduction to the Four Ancient Books of Wales,[2] derives the name Scot from Scuite = wanderers, because here they are described as "per diversa vagantes," and says, "Cath, *war*, seems to enter into the name Atticotti, and they are 'bellicosa natio';" and further supposes that the Vecturiones included the Saxons as making part of their nation, because they are mentioned in 364, and not in 368, when the Vecturiones seem to take their place. The Maeatae, the Greek form of whose designation comes directly from Maia, the Greek goddess of May, as above noticed, I have shown, on the faith of a Walloon root, to have their name capable of interpretation as worshippers, or at least actors in rites which had to do with young branches of trees. Now *veho*, I carry, and *turio*, the young branch of a tree, conjoined, pretty completely make up Vecturiones, the carriers of young boughs, the Latin equivalent of the name Maeatae.

The *Di* of *Di*caledones comes from the Greek prefix δι, διὰ = through, against, in opposition, apart; and signified, I conclude, either the Picts dwelling among, or over against, the Caledonians.

Now, is there any authority but Cormac's Glossary, as quoted by Skene, for the ancient or proper form of the name Scot being spelt Scuit? I know of none; and, if it is a word of Celtic origin, there seems no reason for the complete acceptance of the *o* sound in contradistinction to the *u*. Cormac may have been

[1] Ammianus Marcellinus, B. xxvii. c. 8. [2] Vol. i. p. 107.

have been right, but it certainly was no mere mutation of sound which caused the classical writers to call them *Scoti*, nor was the meaning that that name conveyed to them "wanderers."

There is a Scotch Gaelic word, *allaban*, *allabanach*, signifying "wandering," which is little different in sound from "Albannach," the Gaelic for an inhabitant of Scotland. In the battle of the Standard, A.D. 1138, the Galwegians are said to have engaged the English in the old Teutonic wedge-formation (the cuneus or boar's head of the Roman soldiery), and, on the authority of Hoveden, shouting as their war-cry "Albanich, Albanich."[1]

The name Albion was applied to Britain, and Alba to Scotland, from the earliest times in which either are mentioned as entities, and of course any dweller in Scotland was an Albanach, *i.e.* an inhabitant of Alba.

If there ever was any connection between Allabanach and Albannach, the designation is not applied to Cormac's *Scuit*, but to those who were considered Picts; and therefore Scot, signifying "wanderer," would convey no meaning distinctive of race to the Pict calling himself Albannach. One thing seems clear, that Allabanach, in the signification of a wander*er*, is even more nearly the equivalent to Albannach, a Scot, than Scuit, a wanderer, is to Scot, a Scotsman.

The word *ala*, another, the second, *alter* in Latin, as *ala*bruigh, another land (O'Reilly), *all*, other (Breton), seems the root of *allabanach;* but while this is apparently a Scotch Gaelic word, the word "other" is *eile*, both in Ireland and Scotland.

At the commencement of the fifth century we have two writers who speak specially of the Scots. Claudius Claudianus, in his panegyric on Stilicho,

[1] *History of Galloway*, 1841, p. 165.

says,[1] that "Icy Ireland wept heaps of Scots" destroyed by that general. And again—

"Me (Britain) perishing from foreign nations Stilicho protected
When the Scot stirred up the whole of Ireland,
And the sea foamed with hostile seamen."

also—

"A legion came spread among the extreme Britons
Which bridled the cruel Scot, and gazed on the figures marked with iron
Bloodless from the dying Pict."

and—

"He (Stilicho) draws into one the scattered powers of the empire, and reviews the marshalled battalions, what legion is a guard for the Sarmatic Banks, what is opposed to the fierce Getae, what legion bridles the Saxon and the Scot, how great cohorts surrounded the ocean, with how great a soldiery the Rhine is subdued."

The authority here is as good for the *icy* character of Ireland as for that country being the only habitat of the Scot, who, however, seems to have been as attentive to it as to Britain itself, while the last extract would almost entitle us to believe that they were a continental people.

Claudian, in the same panegyric, has another name for the Picts—

"He (Stilicho) conquered the swift Moors not falsely named Picts,
And following the Scot with the wandering sword,
He cleft the Hyperborean waves with adventurous oar."

The words translated "swift Moors" are in the original *leves Mauros*, and though Libya is spoken of in the line immediately preceding, a reference to Thule intervenes, and the Moors, called Picts, and the Scots seem to have had an indubitable connection with Thule and the Hyperborean ocean.

It might be supposed if the Picts were indigenes that they still stained themselves with woad, and for

[1] Giles, vol. ii. p. 170.

this reason, by a poetical licence, were called *Mauri*, Pliny telling us the British women "imitated the colour of the Ethiopians" when they used the woad. In the Four Ancient Books of Wales, the wall from Forth to Clyde is called "mur," from the Latin *murus*, and the word is used in connection with the "Gosgordd mur," or retinue of the wall, the mounted troops who defended it. This wall, Skene says,[1] remained the proper boundary of the province from the date of its erection by Lollius Urbicus, A.D. 139, till the Romans left the island. The word *mur* is preserved in Carmuirs, the name of the ancient Camelon, just in front of the east end of the wall.[2]

It seems not improbable that those living in the neighbourhood of the wall might receive a name from that circumstance, say *Murii*. Mâhirez, in the Walloon tongue, signifies walls, enclosures, and is properly applied to a wall built without mortar.

There is a Gaelic word "maor," which O'Reilly translates a steward, an officer, a bailiff, a catchpole, a sergeant, formerly a baron among the Scots. Skene tells us that, in the eleventh century, the Mor*maer* was the head of the aggregate of tribes forming a province.[3] The word is common to the Gaelic, the Welsh, and the Manx, and is as old in the Breton as the ninth century, though Legonidec doubts its being of Breton origin. The office of maor was co-ordinate with that of coroner in the Isle of Man, but in no country has it been applied to higher offices than in Scotland. That the spelling of *mauri* for the word maor is possible is proved by the grant of sergeantry of the district of Craignish in the Craignish charters,

[1] *Celtic Scotland*, vol. i. p. 77.
[2] *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. ii. p. 411.
[3] *Historians of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 446.

mention being therein made of the "officium Sergeandiae seu Mauri tenandriae seu balliatus de Craignish."[1]

Is it an unlikely thing that the guardians of the wall, on either side, should not receive a Celtic name, or that a name so appropriate as maor should not be latinised by the poet in the same form as it was subsequently? In a poem in the Red Book of Hergest which contains allusions connecting it with Dalmeny on the Firth of Forth,[2] are the following lines—

> "Let the chief builders be
> Against the fierce Ffichti,
> The *Morini* Brython."

There can be no question as to Morini here having the same significance as *mauri* above mentioned. It is curious that Lollius Urbicus, the builder of the Forth and Clyde wall, was called Africanus, from having conquered the Moors.

The other writer is St. Jerome, who, writing at this date, gives us, on the veracity of one who was a Christian and a prose-writer, details both of Scots and Attacots:—"The nation of the Scots have not wives peculiar to each (man), and, as if they had chosen the policy of Plato, and followed the example of Cato, there is no proper marriage bond, but as if it were allowed for each, *lasciviunt* after the manner of cattle." And he alludes to the same practice in what seems rather ambiguous language: "Let the Gentiles hear of the harvests of the church, with which our storehouses are daily being filled, let the catechumens who are candidates for the faith hear, that they may not marry wives before baptism, nor join honourable marriages, but they may have promiscuous wives and common children, after the Scotch and Attacotish rite, and after the republic of Plato."

[1] *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. ii. p. 458. [2] *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 452.

So much for the general question ; but let us notice how he handles individuals of the same nation in his dispute as to the Pelagian heresy. "Lately an unlearned calumniator [this is believed to be Coelestius, the colleague of Pelagius] broke forth, who thinks my commentaries on the Epistle of Paul to the Ephesians to be found fault with, nor does he understand, snorting with so much senselessness, the laws of commentators. Nor does this dullard, loaded with Scotch porridge, remember that we have said in that very work: I do not condemn double marriages!" Again he says, alluding to Pelagius: "Here he is silent, there he finds fault, he sends biblical epistles to the whole world, formerly bringing gold, now a curse, and our growing patience concerning the humility of Christ is interpreted as a sign of an evil conscience. He himself, though mute, barks through the Alpine dog [Coelestius], who can rage better with his heels than with his teeth. For he has an offspring of the Scotch nation from the neighbourhood of the Britons, who, after the stories of the poets, in the likeness of Cerberus, should be struck down with a spiritual club, that he may be silent in the eternal shades with his own master Pluto." The Scotch porridge-eater is an Alpine dog from the neighbourhood of the Britons, and though this does not exclude Ireland, it is rather more applicable to Scotland. The word translated porridge in the original is *pultibus*, which Ainsworth derives from the Greek πόλτος, and this again from the Celtic *pouls* (a word which I have not been able to find anywhere but in Ainsworth), and says it was a kind of meat used by the ancients, made of meal, water, honey, or cheese and eggs sodden together. It was used at sacrifices. Pulse is a term applied to leguminous seeds, such as the pea and bean ;

and it is curious that the word *scocha* is the Walloon for a sort of pea, and *Scoche* is the equivalent for Scotch. There can be no doubt, from the above remarks, as to the peculiarities of the Scots, founded, as Jerome tells us, on a religious rite; and the Greek supplies us with a word which describes those who practise such things.

"Σκότιος," says Damm, "ad tenebras pertinens;" pertaining to darkness, furtive, occult. "Σκότιον δὲ ἔ γείνατο μήτηρ, *i.e.* ἐκ λαθραίας μιξέως, ex furtivo concubitu" (but the mother brought forth an illegitimate son from furtive intercourse), "which others call ἐξ ἀδᾳδουχήτων γάμων, "from illegitimate nuptials" (from α, not; ἔχω, to have; δαῖς, a torch, *i.e.* not to have a torch. οἱ σκότιοι those are therefore called, whose parents have evidently not had connection for the sake of procreating children, but secretly and in darkness."[1]

It is quite certain that neither the Highlanders nor the Irish have ever called themselves Scots, though writers have claimed the title for either people. Their name for themselves, as usually written, is "Gael;" their language they call the "Gaelic." On the modern pronunciation of this latter word, we find the following note in M'Leod and Dewar's Dictionary. "There appears no good reason why this word should not be written Gàilig, a spelling more agreeable to the pronunciation than any other, as also to the rules of spelling and the general structure of the language." O'Reilly in his Dictionary spells Gael *Gaoidheal*, and gives as its signification, "a hero, a man who by force or art gets above all laws;" while Cormac, as there quoted, says, if I translate his Gaelic aright, that it means "a hero who came with theft

[1] Damm's *Greek Lexicon*.

through every territory." The word "theft," *gaoth*, also means "wind," and Zeuss[1] translates it, marking it with a query, *impetus*, violence, and proposes to call the name Gael "inquieti, impetuosi," *restless, violent*, deriving it from the older form, "gáid, gáith," which words may be translated either as meaning *wind* or *theft*. Curiously enough, Cormac derives the name of the language of the Gael from "guth—elg" (=olc ?), a *vile voice* or *sound*.[2]

In the old Irish writings the *d* is always introduced. Gael is written *gaedal* in the story of the death of the three sons of Uisneach. In O'Connor's edition of the *Annals of Inisfallen* it is written *goedelu*, *gaedelu*, and Zeuss concludes that the older form of the name was "gáidal or goidal." Gerald of Wales, who wrote about 1176,[3] distinctly tells us that the Irish were called "Gaideli and also Scots;" and I conclude that, at that date, the *d* was sounded. The Welsh call Ireland Iwerddon, signifying a green place; the Irish they call Gwyddyl, Gwyddelod, the adjective meaning of which is Irish, savage, sylvan—this last giving Gwyddyl very much the same significance as the term Caledonii. The Bretons call the Irish Iverdoniz, Iverdonidi. There is, however, in Aremoric a word much nearer to Zeuss's Gaidal, "Gadal, plural Gadaled," an immodest, lewd, lascivious person; the feminine being Gadélez, or Gadalez. Now, if we may conclude that the above Breton word retains its form as used at the time the term "Scot" was introduced, there could scarcely be a more significant name applied to the half-bred children of a people who called themselves Gaidal (feminine plural, Gaidala ?), at all events, more significant to a Belgic Gaul, seeing what impression such a

[1] *Grammatica Celtica*, p. 8, note.
[2] O'Reilly's *Irish Dict.*, *voc.* Goidhealg.
[3] *Topography of Ireland*, c. 7.

Celtic word would give to his mind, or to the mind of one familiar with his language. No wonder that from the time of Strabo (44 B.C.), who mentions reports of promiscuous intercourse and cannibalism among them, the Irish had a bad name. In reality, however, the evidence is in favour of their being synonyms derived from the peculiarities of those whom they describe, and the fact that Ptolemy gives various names to the tribes inhabiting Ireland is in favour of the assumption that the generic term "Gaidal" or "Scot" came into use at a period posterior to that writer.

Further, the real significance of Gael must always remain a subject of conjecture; I only desire to point out a probable meaning attached to it by others than those to whom it was applied.

Cormac gives as its equivalent "gafal," a hero; and in this one seems to find the Breton words *gowr*, a man, and *avel*, wind. The Scots were surely seamen, and, consequently, were dependent largely on wind for their powers of locomotion.

Jerome, however, further tells us about the Attacots particulars that are not less interesting than those as to the Scots, and, as he saw those people himself, trustworthy, one might suppose. "What shall I say concerning the other nations, when I myself, as a young man, have seen in Gaul the Attacots, a nation of Britain, eating human flesh; and when they find through the woods herds of swine and cattle, they are accustomed to cut off the buttocks of the shepherds and breasts of the women, and that they consider those alone as delicacies of food." Jerome, of course, did not *see* them eating human flesh; the phrase "eating human flesh" no doubt means "who eat human flesh," so after all it was only hearsay evidence.

A bun is a cake eaten at Easter, a name derived from Ostara, a goddess worshipped with priapic rites. Bun, the Welsh for a maid, was also, says Davies, the British Proserpine to whom the mystic branch was sacred (*Celtic Research*, ii. 327). In the triads appears "Bun," one of the three unchaste matrons of Britain, the daughters of Cul Vanawyd Prydain, the *person occupying the narrow spot in the waters of Britain.* She was the wife of the flame-bearer, and is the equivalent of κόρη, Proserpine.[1]

Pabo, one of the supports (*post*) of Britain in the Welsh triads, Davies translates as signifying *producer of life*, and Jamieson, in his *Scottish Dictionary* (*voce* Beltain), tells us that the cakes made and eaten at Beltain were covered with prominences representing nipples.

Bonn is the base, or bottom, of a thing; bonnach a cake of oatmeal. Bonnmhais the buttock—màs = buttock—or adjectively, handsome, round, heaped. *Bunúc* is an infant in Kilkenny (O'Reilly). The word used by Jerome for breast is "papilla," and in lowland Scotch we have a name for a bannock, *bap*, which is suggestive enough. Doubtless this presupposes that bannocks and baps were in use in the end of the fourth century, which does not seem impossible; and in reference to the Scocha before mentioned, a "pease bannock" is not an unknown form of diet at the present day in Scotland. I do not think it too much stretching a point to dismiss the cannibalism of our ancestors, and find them addicted to less startling diet.

Having called on the Greek in so many instances before for a derivation, I think we find sufficient evidence in the customs of the Picts and Scots, as

[1] Davies, *Celtic Research*.

reported to us, to make it not unlikely that the Attacots were of somewhat the same stock. If the Scots were illegitimate, and the Picts claimed their mother's position in society, the Attacots, carrying their feelings to a natural conclusion, disliked their fathers, and were called after the two words ἄττα, a father, and κότος, animosity, and there can be no simpler or more direct derivation of the name Attacot than that. I presume, of course, that this opinion as to their feelings can only have been formed by some such habit as that ascribed by Bede to the Picts.

To recapitulate: what I have here attempted to prove is—

I. That the traditions of those islands connect some of their inhabitants claiming to be Celts with the Roman soldiery of Agricola specially; but possibly also with that of other generals.

II. That the leaders, at least, of the inhabitants of the British Isles who, during the latter part of the Roman occupation, most harassed the Romans and the so-called Britons, were of a mixed race.

III. That they practised the rites of a religion which gave occasion to the names imposed on them.

IV. That the names so imposed are of Latin and Greek origin.

That Greek should bulk so largely in these names is not wonderful, if for no other reason than because, as we know from Juvenal, who wrote during the latter part of the first century, that "everything was Greek" at Rome, even to the blandishments of the ladies (*Satire* vi. line 186). But Greek found its way into the mysteries of the Scots themselves, as is clearly proved by the name of their secret writing, the so-called Ogmic. This character (as is well known) is composed of a series of short lines, representing the

separate letters, placed at an angle to a long straight line either marked or understood. In Greek, ὄγμος is a furrow; a straight series of things planted; that row which a reaper follows in reaping; ὀγμεύω, I trace a furrow; ὄγμος, the straight line kept by reapers. Thus the ordered rows of short lines are called Og(h)ams, because they are a straight series of lines planted in a furrow; and this is quite comprehensible without the intervention either of Ogmius, the Gallic Hercules, or of the sunlike Ogmus of the Irish, both whose names are the offspring of the same root.

In the allusions to Arthur, I do not say that the history of Agricola is the foundation of the Arthurian legends, merely that Agricola forms one of the constituents which (on analysis) are found in them. As a further indication of this connection, Skene[1] shows that the most likely localities of Arthur's battles are to be found first in the south-west of Scotland, then in the Lennox, then in the districts between Clyde and Forth, after which is fought the battle of the wood of Celyddon, which, however, Skene thinks was to the southward, on Gala side, not northwards, like Mons Grampius.

Thereafter, if Arthur and Agricola are the same, Arthur makes himself master of the three fortresses of Dumbarton, Stirling, and Edinburgh, and fights the battle at Bouden Hill, Linlithgowshire. Tacitus gives no indications of these last four, subsequent to the battle with the Caledonians, but they may be considered as the settlement of the conquered territory in either case; but in the old Welsh poem, the *Spoils of Annwn*, accepted as old by all commentators, the second last exploit of "Arthur of anxious memory" there mentioned, was at a place called

[1] *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. i. p. 58.

"Caer *(fort)* Vandwy." Skene says the localities in the poem distinctly point to the district between the firths on the line of the Roman wall, and says Vandwy was possibly Cramond on the Forth.

The same Vandwy is mentioned in another poem in connection with the further Tawy, that is, the river Tay. Is it not more likely that the place is somewhere in the district of the thanage of Fandufuith, which Skene himself, in his notes to Fordun,[1] says was at Logierait on the Tay, where, on the summit of a hill called Torr (*a conical hill*), there are remains of an intrenched position?[2] Davies in his *Celtic Researches*,[3] translates "Vandwy" as meaning "resting on the height," a vague enough name so far as its translation goes. The Roman camp at Fortingall certifies to these invaders having reached so far. The district assigned to the exploits of both commanders corresponds closely.

We all know that Agricola was not a king, and it is noteworthy that Arthur was in the oldest accounts styled only "Dux bellorum," *Guledig* as the Welsh call it; and lastly, Nennius, to whom we owe the account of Arthur's twelve battles, never mentions Agricola in his history, nor was Tacitus's account of him known by historians till the time of Hector Boece.

So far the period under consideration has been that of the Roman occupation of Britain, and the authorities quoted have almost been confined to those who are historic writers. But when we enter upon the story of the times immediately subsequent to the relinquishing of our country by the Romans, we find ourselves face to face with literature altogether different, much of it being evident fable, and almost all of it deeply

[1] *Historians of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 417.
[2] Marshall, *Historic Scenes in Perthshire*.
[3] Vol. ii. p. 516.

dyed with what may be called Christian superstition, and the writers highest in repute not being without suspicion.

The Romans finally quitted Britain A.D. 410, and the date fixed as that when Gildas our eldest author wrote was 560 A.D. This date, a century and a half after the nation's independence, is fixed by a calculation as to the date of a battle at Badon Hill, which is said to have taken place in 516, and Gildas's own observations bring out the date above quoted as the period at which he wrote. The Irish Annals record his death in A.D. 570. The oldest copy of his history is of the thirteenth century. He wrote a discourse consisting of a chain of quotations from the Scriptures appended to a short vilification of four British kings, Constantine, Conan, Cuneglas, and Maglocunus, the characteristics of whom, collectively taken, were their lascivious habits, and the fact that the syllables "con" or "cun" appear in each of their names. He also wrote a short history of Britain, more oratorical than historical. In this latter he notices the Picts and Scots, who, he tells us, were seamen using boats (latinising the Gaelic word *curach*), and further that they wore more hair on their faces than clothes on their bodies.

The best proof of there having existed an early writer called Gildas is that Bede, who, we have said, wrote between the years 673 and 734, quotes him, but not at length, so as to enable the absolute conclusion to be arrived at that what we now have as Gildas's History is the same as the book known to Bede.

Nennius, the next author, must have compiled his work shortly after A.D. 738,[1] and he drew largely on the *Origines* of Isidorus of Seville, who died in 636.

[1] *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. i. p. 137.

From the Romans, then, to Bede and Nennius two centuries and a half had elapsed, and it is easy to fancy how much fable must have grown up in that time, and into how many mistakes and misconceptions these writers were likely to fall, even if they had been severely critical, which indeed they were not.

These, then, are the only ancient native authors whose writings may be supposed to have come down to us in their original form; but, to get a general idea of the value of our further sources of information, I will glance at dates affixed by critics to the other writings, Welsh, Irish, and Scotch. And first, let us consider the Welsh bards.

Their names were Taliessin, Aneurin, Llywarch Hen, and Merddin, and they are said to have lived in the sixth century. The oldest transcript of their works is the *Black Book of Caermarthen*, a MS. of the twelfth century, and the poems are confessedly neither in the verbal form nor in the orthography of the date at which they are said to have been composed. Skene is of opinion[1] that the metre of Llywarch Hen's poems is as old as the ninth century, and one of Taliessin's as old as the tenth. Judging from the date he has fixed for the existence of the "Guledig" Cunedda; from the few allusions to Arthur, who is only noticed, and that not in detail, in five poems, and to their evident connection with the Roman wall; and from their allusions to the Picts, who are called Pictish Gael; and, especially, from an allusion to the death of a certain Dyfnwal Breac,[2] which occurred A.D. 642, Skene thinks some of them may have been written shortly after this date, while others contain references which prove them to be subsequent to Nennius and even to the date of the commencement

[1] *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. i. p. 221. [2] *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 233.

of the Norman dynasty in England. The genuine poems are the literature of the Cymric inhabitants of the kingdom of Cumbria; those whom they commemorate are the "Men of the North," that is, in general terms, modern Lowland Scotland; and there is every reason to believe that they are older than the tenth century.

The ancient *Laws and Institutes of Wales* are of the tenth century.

In Ireland there is an immense mass of native literature, the principal authorities among which are the following:—

The *Senchus Mor*, which seems to have come down to us, possibly complete, in MSS. dating from the close of the thirteenth century. It claims to have been written in A.D. 439, under the superintendence of St. Patrick.

The *Saltair of Cashel*, said to have been composed in 903.

The celebrated *Cormac's Glossary*, said to be the interlined explanations made in the *Saltair* by Cormac, king of Munster, who was killed in that year. Part of this glossary is in the Book of Leinster, a book as old as 1150, and the complete glossary is in a MS. made about the year 1400.

The *Leabhar na h' Uidhre*, some part of which is preserved in MS. *circa* 1100.

The Book of Ballymote, compiled in 1391.

In more modern times, Keating compiled his history about 1630. The book of Conquests, *Leabhar Gabhala*, was compiled about the same date; and, six years later, the *Annals of the Four Masters* by Michael O'Clery and three others.

A list is given of authorities from which these last were composed, of which three have come down to us;

and one of these, in which the few circumstances mentioned are without date, can have been of no assistance in so voluminous a composition, amounting, as it does, with notes and translation, to six thick quarto volumes.

There are undoubtedly religious manuscripts in Irish of an older date than any of these ; but it is clear from the dates above given, which are Professor O'Curry's, that in none of them can we rely on the information contained being older in its form than the time of the Norman invasion of Ireland, 1171, unless it be in the *Leabhar na h' Uidhre.*

As to Scottish history, the oldest of the "Annals of the Picts and Scots" was compiled about the years 971 to 975, and, like Nennius, draws on the *Origines* of Isidore for its prefatory matter—the manuscript being of the fourteenth century, in which century was written Fordun's History, the oldest Scotch history extant.

Of course the above is not a complete list of works from which we may derive information, but a summary guide to give an idea of the value we may place on them from their age.

Preconceived ideas give a distinctive character to much contained in these, as, for instance, in the miracles ascribed to saints, the very saints themselves being frequently as much myths as their miracles. And again, another very evident and common fact is the localising in the district or country of the writer the common traditions of the stock of which his people formed a part.

It seems then but reasonable that, when a common key can be found to explain the different, improbable, and even, in their literal meaning, impossible stories, we may conclude that this key represents the true

history; and we may the more surely rely on this being so, when we find local tradition, records other than written, such as engraved stones, tumuli, and remains of weapons, etc., supporting this theoretical idea.

Let us then, in the light of the records above noted, and others of the same class, continue the consideration of those who are claimed as the early historic Celtic stock from which sprang the present inhabitants of the British Isles, the Picts, Scots, and Cymri—the Irish-Scotch and Welsh.

The Picts appear not only in Alban, but also in Wales and in Ireland; and in these countries, besides the name Pict, however spelled, we find them called by other names. In one of the most authentic poems of Taliessin the name *Peithwyr* is applied to the Picts of Galloway, and in the Gododin poem we have *Peithan* given as the father of Gwid, who was apparently a Cumbrian.

Peithio, to lay open, to scout; *Peithas*, a scout, a scout boat (Spurrell). *Peithwyr* would then be scouts; *gwŷr*, men, losing the *g* in composition, the same word as *Peeikear* (Manx), a spy, a scout. In Ammianus Marcellinus (B. xxiii. c. 3, § 8), we have the following notice placed immediately after the account of the pacification of Britain by Theodosius, the defeat of the Picts and Scots, and the formation of the province of Valentia, extending to the wall between Forth and Clyde, A.D. 369:—"The *Areani*, a class of men, instituted in former times, and of whom we have already made some mention in recording the acts of Constans, had now gradually fallen into bad practices, for which Theodosius removed them from their *stations*. In fact, they had been undeniably convicted of yielding to the temptation of the great rewards which were given and promised them, so as to have

continually betrayed to the barbarians what was done among us. For their business was to traverse vast districts, and report to our generals the warlike movements of the neighbouring nations." Giles,[1] in mentioning this, calls these men *Arcani*, and explains that, the only MS. of Ammianus being imperfect, it is impossible to say whether this is the whole or only portion of the word, and says that the word signifying "secret agent" gives what seems a more intelligible term than Areani.

Whatever be the meaning of the name *Areanus* or *Arcanus*, that these men were scouts is clear from the description of their functions.

I do not think it necessary to assume that all Picts were Arcani. I think, however, that the name Peithwyr applied to the Picts in this traditional poem is *prima facie* evidence that at least part of them were.

Davies,[2] explaining how the Welsh in early times had a method of writing by cutting marks with a knife on a four or three-sided stick, says that several sticks with writing on them were put together, forming a kind of frame called *Peithynen*, or elucidator. Peithynen, he explains, means any small body with a flat surface—a slate, a brick (*πυξίον*, a writing tablet of boxwood).

Spurrell says this was the ancient bardic writing frame, and of course the writing on it was the Coelbren y Beirdd, or memorial sticks of the bards.

"That the Celtic peoples," says Zeuss, "had also a writing of their own before these letters" (that is, the Roman alphabet, which, he says, was given over in properly formed letters from the Irish to the Anglo-Saxons) "were handed over from the Romans, the

[1] *History of Ancient Britons*, vol. i. p. 324.
[2] *Celtic Researches*, vol. i. p. 271.

name of Ogmios, a god of the Gauls, seems to testify; who is called the one who presides over speech, even now preserved among the Irish, to whom Ogma (=Ogmios) is the inventor of writing, Ogam (Ogham, Oghum), the proper kind of that old writing itself, and found both in the old inscriptions of stones, and known to the writers of our codices of the ninth century. Among the Welsh also old forms of letters circulated, like the Scandinavian runes, suitable for carving on wood or stone, as the alphabet of Nemnivus, or what are called *coelbren y beirdd*, alphabet of the bards, to which are opposed *coelbren y menach*, alphabet of the monks or Roman alphabet; whence it may be gathered that figures for shrubs, or like the small branches of trees or shrubs, of which description are the Scandinavian runes, have been taken by the Irish bards, because they gave the names of shrubs or trees to the individual figures of letters from which the alphabet has been called *beth* (birch), *luis* (mountain-ash), *nin* (nion ash)." "*Coelbrenn*," says Zeuss, is 'lignum memoriae,' as *coelfaen* is 'lapis memoriae'—'stick' and 'stone' of memorial. But is not this *coelbren*, also the name for the individual letters, equivalent to the word *buchstab*, the staff of a book, *i.e.* a letter?"[1]

In fact, originally the letters were supposed to represent twigs of different shapes; but the inventors of the Ogmic called each letter by the name of a different plant, and so, as it were, expanded the idea. Now the story of the origin of the bardic alphabet is this:[2]—"A certain Nemnivus invented these letters, because a Saxon scholar found fault that the Britons had not a 'rudimentum;' but he himself suddenly formed these from the machinations of his own mind,

[1] Zeuss, *Gram. Celtica*, pp. 1, 2. [2] *Ibid.* p. 1059.

in order that he would overthrow the reproach and dulness of his own nation."

And Zeuss gives a list of the letters, which see on annexed table with the meanings attached to those which are clear in their interpretation, and, for comparison, the ordinary Ogham Scale is put alongside it. Davies tells us, on the authority of Owen,[1] that the Welsh Bardic alphabet contains all the letters of the Pelasgian or Etruscan alphabet, without deviation of form, except four or five, which were Roman. Diodorus Siculus, who wrote B.C. 45,[2] informs us that "Linus wrote a history of the acts of the elder Dionysus, and other mythological tracts, in Pelasgian letters, and that Orpheus made use of the same." Orpheus was a Thracian and a bard, and all know how he is said to have made trees dance to his music. The Picts claimed a Thracian origin; and it is quite a simple matter to believe that contact in the service of Rome might have taught the foreign auxiliaries Etruscan mysteries, and it is likely that these Picts were the descendants of these foreign auxiliaries. But, regarding the name of Venedotia—a part of Wales—in which this Pelasgian (?) alphabet was used, a name evidently connected with the Veneti of Brittany, whose larger iron-fastened ships and iron chain cables are remarked on by Caesar, and who, Strabo says, were the progenitors of the Veneti, from whence comes modern Venice, is it not possible that a Pelasgian stock had retained their own literature?

And it is noteworthy that we have in Etruria alone, of all Italy, any "dolmens" such as form the wonder of Brittany, and that there also artificial mounds, with enclosed chambers, such as are in Ireland at Brugh na Boinne and Loch Crew, are found.

[1] *Celtic Research*, vol. i. p. 271. [2] *Celtic Research*, quotes, vol. i. p. 325.

	Old spelling of names of Bardic lots and their signs.	Spell in modern of evident meanings.	Translation.	Ogmic characters	Gaelic name and translation.	
a	alar	alar	taedium *weariness*		ailm *fir*	The Lots are from Davies's *Celtic Research*, vol. i. p. 273.
b	braut	brawd	judicium *judgment*		beith *birch*	
c	cusil	cussul	consilium *counsel*		coll *hazel*	
d	dexu				duir *oak*	
e	egui				eadad, eabad *aspen*	
f	fich				fearn *alder*	The names and modern synonyms from Zeuss's *Grammatica Celtica*, p. 1059.
g	guichr	gwychr	audax *sturdy*		gort *ivy*	
h	huil	hwyl	velum *a sail*		huath *hawthorn*	
i	iechuit	iechyd	sanitas *health*		idad *yew*	
l	louber	lleufer	splendor *splendour*		luis *mountain ash*	
m	muin	mwyn	beneficium-munus } *a gift*		muin *vine*	The Ogham, from Brash's *Ogham Inscribed Monuments*.
n	nihn				nin *ash*	
o	or	or	margo *bank of a water*		onn *furze*	
p	parth	parth	regio *a coast, a shore*		ruis *elder*	
r	rat	rhad	gratia *favour*		sail *sallow*	
s	surg				tinne *holly*	
t	traus	traws	homo ferus *a wild man; savage*		ur *heath*	
u	uir	wyr	nepos { *a grandson; sucker on a vine branch*		cu-queirt *apple*	
v	ieil					
w	quith	gwyth	ira *anger*			

If these Pelasgio-Etruscan characters were used by Orpheus, it is easy to see how they came to be claimed as Bardic, the more especially as it is clear that a priapic worship was common, both to the Orpheans and those whom this Essay more especially concerns, viz., the Picts, Scots, and Cymri.

In table A it will be seen that the Bardic characters given by Davies are referable to twenty root letters. Let us compare these and the Ogham. *P*, which is called soft B in Gaelic, is not an Ogham character, nor is *V*, the Ogham using F.

W of the Bardic seems the equivalent of the Ogmic Q.

Gw in Welsh, which, in composition, drops the g, is equal to F, as Gwyr (Welsh), Fir (Gaelic), men; Gwion = Fion, etc.

The great use of the q in Ogham is in the word *maqqi*, of a son,—which apparently occurs once in Wales and once or twice in Ireland, as *affi*,[1] closely connected with the Welsh ap, mab, a son. The name of the character too is spelt *quith*, the homologue of the modern *gwyth*.

We have thus reduced the number of simple Bardic letters from twenty to eighteen.

In the eclipsis of the Irish, which, for the sake of euphony, drops out certain consonants after the letter *n*, replacing them by the sound of another consonant, *g* is not eclipsed but coalesces with the *n*, and thus has a claim for a separate sign. There is a character for ng in the Bardic, and it also receives one in the Ogmic, the so-called "ngedal" or broom, seed.[2]

In Scotch Gaelic this eclipsis occurs in the case of

[1] Brash's *Ogham Monuments*, p. 347.

[2] Specimen of eclipsis: ár baile, our town, is written ár m-baile, pronounced ár-maile.

nouns beginning with *s*, followed by a vowel or a liquid, which, after the article ending in *n*, have a *t* inserted, the *s* becoming quiescent.[1] In the ordinary writing of eclipsed letters, the elided one follows the one taking its place, but, although there are no words in Gaelic beginning with "Ts," this combination has received a character in Ogham which is called "Straif," the blackthorn. Further evidence of this being the origin of these two characters is found in their following each other in the Ogham stave (see table B). Evidence of the artificial character of the Ogham, and of the acquaintance of its author with the rules of grammar, is very clear, in the fact that the broad vowels *a*, *o*, *u*, follow each other, being delineated by one, two, and three short strokes or dots respectively, while the small vowels *e* and *i* follow them with four and five marks.

The name of the letter *n* is the same both in the Ogmic and Bardic; and O'Curry informs us[2] that Nin signifies not only the letter *n* specifically, but any letter. The alphabet is called Beth Luis Nin, that is, the *birch ash letters*. It has been remarked that, leaving out the vowels, *B L N* forms the name Belen, another Celtic title of Hercules or Ogmius.

The Ogmic is found principally in the south-west of Ireland, one hundred and eighty-two of a total of one hundred and ninety-three inscriptions, described by Brash, being in the counties of Kilkenny, Cork, Waterford, and Kerry, and along the sea estuaries of the Bandon, Lee, Blackwater, Suir, and Nore. It is common in Dimetia, or South Wales, in the counties of Cardigan, Pembroke, and Glamorgan, and is found

[1] *An slat*, the rod, written *an-t-slat*, pronounced *an-tlat*.
[2] *Materials*, p. 471, quotes Uraicept.

in Devon and Cornwall in England, and one inscription at York.

In Scotland there are several such inscriptions: two in Fife, one in Forfarshire, three in Aberdeenshire, one in Sutherland, and six in Orkney and Shetland. There are thus twice as many inscriptions in the Orkneys as there are in any county in Scotland, and these islands are the traditional locality of the Picts, and of the people known in Ireland as the Firbolg. We have found them in Ireland almost always near the water, either sea-shore or estuary; and the same being the case in Scotland, we may infer that these inscriptions were written by a seafaring people.

The Scottish Oghams are much ruder than the Welsh and Irish, but they occur in some cases on stones highly carved. The vowels also are marked by cross lines, with difficulty distinguishable from the cross line consonants, and this difficulty is increased by there being often no stem line. It is against probability that those who learned to mark a stem line and the vowels by dots should omit the former and take the trouble to cut the confusing cross lines in place of the more simple and intelligible dot, on stone at least, if not on a stick; and, for these reasons, one forms the opinion that the Welsh and Irish Oghams are more recent than the Scottish. In Wales the inscriptions are often bilingual, Latin and Gaelic, and, in one case, there was found at Lougher, Carmarthen Bay, a Roman altar with an Ogham inscription. In Ireland, at Killeen Cormac, there is also a Latin and Ogham inscription, and I shall have occasion to draw attention to a tradition connected with this locality subsequently.

We have seen that the Bardic alphabet consisted

of twenty simple sounds, and when we look at the Ogham stave (B), we notice at once the simple division of it into four groups of five letters each, each letter being represented by five strokes, and this is an ingenious cipher, very easily marked with a knife on a stick, for all the sounds included in the Bardic alphabet, the sound *st*, which is introduced, making up the necessary twenty.

Starting with a single score across a stick for *a*, and then grouping the five vowels together, adding a notch for each succeeding one, the next five scores easiest to make are on the side of the stick opposite the holder's left side,—then turning the stick a little, he makes other five notches, and then, slanting his knife a little, five more. Thus marked, it reads from below upwards, and from left to right, as it does on the Ogmic stones. Now, the name of each Ogmic letter is that of a tree or shrub; but when we look at the names of the Bardic letters, which Zeuss has translated, we find that they are of different significations, and of such significations that they could certainly be applied to what we might call "fortune-telling," and if so, from the allusions to sea, and shore, and boats in them, they were most likely used by seafaring people.

In Wales these characters are called *lots*, and I now would draw attention to what Tacitus tells us of the use of *lots* by the people from whom sprang the Cimbri and Batavians, viz., the Germans:[1]—

"No people are more addicted to divination by omens and lots. The latter is performed in the following simple way. They cut a twig from a fruit tree and divide it into small pieces, which, distinguished by certain marks, are thrown promiscuously on a white

[1] *On the Manners of the Germans*, ch. x.

OGHUM STAVE.

NATURAL ORDER.

Oghum Names.		
ruis	R	ᚏ
straif	TS	ᚐ
ngedal	NG	ᚓ
gort	G	ᚌ
muin	M	ᚋ ᛝ
cu-queirt	Q	ᚍ
coll	C	ᚉ
tinne	T	ᚈ
duir	D	ᚇ ᚎ
huath	H	ᚆ
nin	N	ᚅ ᚑ
sail	S	ᚄ
fearn	F	ᚃ
luis	L	ᚂ
beth	B	ᚁ
idad	I	ᚔ
eadad	E	ᚓ
ur	U	ᚒ
onn	O	ᚑ
ailm	A	ᚐ

garment. Then the priest of the canton, if the occasion be public,—if private, the master of the family,—after an invocation of the gods, with his eyes lifted up to heaven, thrice takes out each piece ; and as they come up interprets their significations, according to the marks fixed on them." Tacitus further informs us that confirmation of these prognostications was taken from the flight of birds, and from the neighing and snorting of horses. Any one who has read the Mabinogion and the Ossianic Society's works will remember instances of the occurrence of flights of black birds ; and in Ulster there was a steed which delivered oracles at Halloween.[1]

That the very word bard was used by the Germans, we have on the authority of Tacitus, who tells us they stimulated their courage by reciting verses, "quem barditum vocant" (*which they call barding*).

It cannot be denied that, if they did these things in ancient Germany, they may also, though we have no account thereof, have done the same in Great Britain and Ireland.

However, seeing that the Etruscan Alphabet is most likely in some way connected with the Ogmic, that the Picts claim to be descendants of Hercules, that the writers of Ogmic were acquainted with and used Latin, and had very considerable knowledge of grammar, I am of opinion that Ogmic was introduced into these islands by a people more civilised than we have any evidence to show existed in our island as natives at the time of its first invasion ; and, further, that these Ogmic characters were, not improbably, the outcome of an acquaintance with the Etruscan or Pelasgic alphabet. Whether of any significance or not, the first letters of the three groups of consonants,

[1] *Ossianic Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 40, 41.

Beth, life, *Hw*, the introducer of agriculture among the Cymry, and *Muin*, a gift, the two latter reminding us of Tuisto and Mannus of Tacitus, seem to hint at a German starting-point.

Brash tells us "that the trees of Ireland are called after the letters, not the letters after the trees," an argument advanced by Mr. O'Daly in the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*.[1] If so, is the Ogmic *Cu Queirt* (the apple-tree)—the name in Ogmic for Q—not connected with the Gothic *Queorth*, which he quotes on p. 62?

I would argue from the above that the Ogmic characters owe their origin to the marking of the lots on sticks, say of apple-tree; which system of marking subsequently was ingeniously applied to a secret character, possibly by such men as the Arcani.

O'Curry[2] tells us, in connection with the ever-recurring name "Lughaidh," how Lughaidh's son, Corc, having been forced to flee to Scotland from Munster, was informed by Gruibné, the king's bard, that he had on his shield an Ogham advising his being put to death at once on arrival at the Albanic court. This is a significant hint as to the use of Ogham; for we see that, used for a secret purpose, it required to be interpreted, and that by a *bard*, before the Irish prince understood its signification.

If there is any truth in my conjecture as to the origin of Ogham, what are we to make of the Welshman Nemnivus, who, on the spur of the moment, provided his countrymen with an alphabet?

The writers of Irish history have no aboriginal tribes in the island. Their accounts commence with invasions; and the first of these was by a lady of the transparent name of Cesare. *She* was a granddaughter

[1] *Ogham-inscribed Monuments*, p. 63. [2] *Materials*, p. 469.

of Noah. Next after her, according to the Four Masters, came Partholan, and then a person of the name of Nemedh, or Nemedius. Now there can be little question that this name is derived from the word nemet = *silva*, a grove. Nemnivus, also spelt Nemenoius, also Nomenoie,[1] comes from *nom*, a Memphitic temple (priapic), and is the equivalent of *nemet*, a grove or temple.

And thus we have a very clear connection between the name of the inventor of lots and the sacred grove, and if Caesar gave his name to the first fabulous Irish colonist, it seems not at all a wild conjecture to believe that the originals of subsequent ones are to be looked for after his date.

Now the descendants of Nemhidh (pronounced Nevhi) are said, after his death, to have been driven out by a people called Fomorians. We are informed[2] that they left in three bands, one of those, under the leadership of Simon Breac (=spotted), going to Thrace; another, under Iobath, going to the north of Europe, and the third, under Briotan Maol (=the bald Briton?), going to Alban. The next to invade Ireland were a people called the Firbolg, who were the descendants of Simon Breac's Thracian party; and immediately after them came the people called *Tuatha de Danaans*, which, without any refined criticism, gives us, translated by the resemblance of sound to a modern name, as its meaning, Tribe of the Danes; and we know that the Chersonesus Cimbrica, the modern *Dane*mark, was the country from which the Cimbri are supposed to have started when we find them fighting against Rome about a century B.C. Now these Tuatha de Danaans were the descendants of Iobath and his party who had gone to Lochlyn,

[1] Zeuss, pp. 87, 161.

[2] *Celtic Scotland*, vol. i. p. 173.

that is, to the north of Europe; and we are told, moreover, that they had, on the way back from Lochlyn to Ireland, spent seven years (seven the usual term implying a considerable quantity of anything) at Dobhar and Iardobhar, in Alban, where Briotan Maol's party had settled, and which Skene, with all probability, says was *Caldover*, or, as it is now called, Calder, East, Mid, and West Calder, in the Lothians. We thus start with the statement that these two peoples were of the same stock, and it seems too clear for doubt that we have to do here with the Batavi and Tungri, who were descendants of the Cimbri. The Irish writers make them go from Ireland to the places from which their history commences, simply, I take it, because, as they were to be Irish, they must spring from Ireland. Now they were, moreover, children of the grove; and in sacred groves, Tacitus tells us, the Germans like others—Maiatae, etc.—performed their sacred rites, deeming it "unworthy the grandeur of celestial beings to confine their deities within walls."[1]

The Fomorians, who drove out the Firbolg, are not one of the principal stocks of Ireland. They were sea-rovers, say the fabulists. In fact, according to the derivation, they lived *under the sea; fo*, under, *muir*, gen. *mara*, the sea,—a rather strained derivation of a doubtful name.

Now, about the period of the defeat of the Picts and the Scots by Theodosius, and his establishment of the province of Valentia up to the wall between Forth and Clyde in the year 371, Valentinian had made the Bucenobantes, a tribe of the Allemanni, residing in the country opposite Mayence, elect a certain *Fraomarius* as their king. Ammianus Marcellinus further informs us[2] that "shortly afterwards, when a fresh

[1] *Manners of the Germans*, c. 9. [2] Ammianus Marcellinus, B. 29, c. 4.

invasion had entirely desolated that canton, he (Valentinian) removed him to Britain, where he gave him the authority of a tribune and placed a number of the Allemanni under his command, forming for him a division strong both in its numbers and the excellence of its appointments." To this Fraomarius I would trace the story of the Fomorians, and I conclude that the expulsion of the sons of Nemedh took place from the country on the south of Forth, and that the term, sons of Nemedh, is purely another form of the name Maiatai and Vecturiones. Skene has pointed out the probability that the Saxons were on the east coast of Scotland in 374 A.D.,[1] from which they pushed past the Orkneys, the Picts and Saxons appearing in close union in 429, as appears from Constantius's *Life of St. Germanus*. Claudian tells us, in the panegyric already alluded to, "that the Orcades were moist with the scattered (slain) Saxons." It seems not unlikely that, having acquired settlements, the followers of Fraomarius, or others of their kindred, in the universal scramble, had been acquiring by the strong arm what they required from their less powerful neighbours.

The signification of the term *Firbolg* has been a question to all treating of Irish history. The majority are in favour of their having been Belgae, an opinion with which I agree; but I am not of the belief that the word "bolg" is merely a wrong spelling for "belg." Keating[2] says these "Firbolg" derived their name from the leathern sacks they filled with soil as miners, and that the Firdomnan, another division of the same people, were so called from the pits dug in searching for tin, while the Firgaillian, the other division, were

[1] *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. i. p. 107.
[2] Quoted, *Annals of the Four Masters*, A. M. 3266.

so styled from the *gai* or spears they carried to protect the rest while at work; and this, says Skene, is not difficult to recognise from the tradition. It may be quite in accordance with tradition, but surely not with common sense. It is far from likely that a nation would divide itself into these classes and not have the one class in servitude to the other; and yet the tradition says nothing of that. Besides, where did they dig?—in Greece? certainly not in Ireland. Can one fancy the miner content to spend his life, toiling in his mine, and his first cousin strolling easily about with a spear, not to keep him at work, like a convict escort, but for his protection, while we are to suppose that the redoubtable warrior and the sturdy miner put the proceeds into the hands of the men with the leathern bags, who carried it off, if it was in Cornwall, to the nearest Phœnician "fort," as they would say in Hudson's Bay, and realised its value?

But what do we see of them in tradition and in solid stone? The huge stone fortifications on Dun Aengus and Muirbheach Mil on the island of Aran, off the west coast of Ireland, so admirably photographed by Lord Dunraven, tell another tale as to their occupation, while tradition makes the Fenians themselves principally Firbolg; and these Fenians were certainly not miners.

Now let us consider their name *Fir-domnan*, mentioned above. *Domhan* in Gaelic is the universe, and *doimhin* is deep, profound. The former is as good a derivation for the name as the other, and might well mean the men of the mistress of the world, Imperial Rome. (*Bolg* means also the womb, a quiver, the *boss of a shield.*) They certainly were seamen or they would not have left their mark on Aran as they have done, nor would we have been told that, when driven

out of Ireland for the last time by the Picts, they would have settled in Man, Islay, Rachrin as well, I suppose, as in Aran. Now let us consider briefly the chief points in the story of the Tuatha de Danaans already alluded to.

We are told that they were much more civilised than the nations that preceded them in Ireland. They were great magicians. It was Lug, *their* king, who instituted the *Lughnasa*, or Lammas games, at Tailten, near Tara, in memory of the last Queen of the Firbolg. He was Lug Mac Eithlenn, who had brought with him the Lia Fail, the caldron of the Daghda, the spear and sword from the cities in the west from which they came, which, Skene says, was from the end of the Roman wall next the Lothians, where Murias is called Carmuirs.[1] It was they who, on the still observed festival of Midsummer, or St. John's Day, defeated the Firbolg, and who had for their sea-deity apparently Mananan, the son of Lir, among whose leaders were Ogma of the sunlike face, the inventor of Ogmic writing, and the Daghda, whose name seems to be the same as Tadhg, which O'Reilly translates a "philosopher," who was their priest, as it were, and whose name, I would suggest, is connected with the word "*tagh*airm," a divination, the special form of which is said to consist in the roasting of live cats, and to result, as might be expected, in fearful yellings unbearable to ordinary mortals.[2]

If, then, the Firbolg and Tuatha de Danaans were driven out of Lothian about A.D. 371 by Fraomarius and his Alemanni, it must be subsequent to this that

[1] The name of the city of "Murias," from which the caldron of the Daghda was brought by the Tuatha de Danaans, "seems connected with 'mur,' the wall, and the village where the Roman camp called Camelon is situated is still called Carmuirs."—Note, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. ii. p. 411.

[2] Nicolson's *Proverbs*, quoting M'Lean's *History of Celtic Language*, p. 264.

the date of their coming to Ireland must be fixed, not centuries before Christ, as they are said to have come. But is there any probability of a foreign occupation of Ireland proceeding from Britain before this?

Juvenal, who wrote about A.D. 96, twelve years after Agricola's occupation of modern Scotland, tells us :—

> "Our arms indeed, beyond
> The shores of Juverna, we have advanced, and the lately captured Orcades, and the Britons content with very little night."

This is the first notice which can be read as indicating a settlement in Ireland.

At this time, about the end of the reign of Domitian, Suetonius gives us the following information :[1]— "He (Domitian) slew Sallustius Lucullus, praefect of Britain, because he had allowed lances of a new form to be called Lucullian."

The settlement of the Picts in Ireland is defined by Skene as "along its north-east coast, from the river Newry and from Carlingford Bay to Glenarm, consisting of the county of Down and the south half of the county of Antrim." This district was termed Uladh and also "Dalaraidhe," latinised *Dalaradia*, and its inhabitants were a Pictish people believed to have once occupied the whole of Ulster. O'Reilly describes Ulla as an ancient district in Ireland, the property of the Magenises, now called the county of Down, and Ullaig, the Ultonians, as inhabitants of Ulster. From this race are said to have sprung Cuchullin, Connal Ceatharnach, and Curoi mac Daire, the great heroes of Scoto-Celtic romance, and they have been styled the Ulidian heroes, in Gaelic "Laoich Ulaid," a name not unlike "Lucullian," while *luchd*, Gaelic, signifies not only folk, people, but also a caldron or kettle. This is indeed a slender peg to hang anything on. But let

[1] Quoted, *Giles*, vol. ii. p. 95.

us examine the other names in this connection. The district was called Dalaraidhe; and Tighernach supplies us with a king, Fiacha Araidhe, from whom it is named.[1]

In Welsh, however, we find *Talaeth* signifies a province, and *Rhain* lances. Is not this a more satisfactory etymology for "Dalaraidhe" than the name of a king, who, I am bold to maintain, is a discovery of an etymologist in search of a meaning for the name of the district, and does it not strangely agree with the story of the spears of Lucullus's soldiery? The name of the family who possessed the country, Magenis, is equivalent to "Islesmen," and this fact would, I believe, be evidence in favour of a much later occupation. It is, however, a tradition in Ireland that Cuchullin received his military education in the island of Skye.

The Ulster Picts were, however, called by another name—"Cruithne." This name is used in the *Life of Columba*, believed to have been written by Adamnan, his successor as Abbot of Iona. Adamnan became Abbot at the age of fifty-five, in the year 679, and died in 703.

Adamnan in this work calls the Irish Picts "Cruthinii," while he applies the more familiar term to Albanic Picts exclusively; and one of the most significant expressions he makes use of regarding them seems to me to be when, speaking of Artbranan, he describes him as a chief, not of a clan, however, but of the "Geona cohort."

This seems to speak volumes for the organisation of this people.

Artbranan is not expressly called a Pict, but all that is told of him, his requiring an interpreter, (was his dialect more Welsh than Gaelic?), and the country

[1] Quoted, Reeves's Adamnan's *St. Columba*, p. 253.

where the interview took place, are in favour of this view of his nationality taken by the commentators.

The other Pictish names he mentions are Iogenan and Tarain, the former living in Leinster, the latter in Islay. He also expressly mentions a fountain held sacred by the Picts.

The district of the Cruithne is shown when, in speaking of St. Comgal of Bangor, Columba draws a distinction between his own kindred of the clan called Hy Niall, and St. Comgal's "of the race of the Cruithni" consequently inhabiting the neighbourhood of Bangor.

In the oldest extant chronicle of the Picts[1] Cruidne is given as the first of the Picts, and they, as well as the Scots, are said to be sprung from a nation called Albani, who were Scythians, and so named from their light-coloured hair. It explains that the term Pict came from a "painted body." This seems pure, etymological history, undefiled by any corroborative evidence.

In the Irish and Pictish additions to the *Historia Britonum* we seem to have a much more reliable guide, so far as tradition can guide us.[2]

Cruithne is here son of Cinge, son of Luctai, son of Partalan. Partholan, according to the *Annals of the Four Masters*, came to Ireland a few centuries after the flood, and they inform us that seven lakes burst out in Ireland during his age. The Ossianic Society[3] gives authority for his having been a Fomorian leader "under the sea;" and hence, when he emerged himself, it was concluded, I take it, that he brought a certain quantity of his native element with him. Parth, the name of the letter *p* in the bardic

[1] *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, p. 3.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 25.
[3] Vol. ii. p. 22.

lots, is translated by Zeuss as signifying a coast, district, region. This shows that the name Partholan has some connection with the sea-shore.

Skene expresses an opinion, from the resemblance of the names of two of the leaders of Partholan's colony with those of two of the Firbolg, that these were the same.[1] Campion tells us that Partholan "plained" a great part of Ireland then overgrown with wood,[2] while there is a curious tradition[3] that "jealousy" was brought into Ireland by Partholanus. This primeval coloniser not long after his arrival in the island detected his wife, the beautiful Dealgnait, in an intrigue with one of his domestics, and summoning them to his presence, wreaked his vengeance, not on the lady or her paramour, but on Dealgnait's favourite greyhound, which he seized and dashed to pieces on the ground. This we are told was the first case of jealousy that ever occurred in Ireland. Partholan was a cultivator, and was the introducer of a certain measure of moral reform in the loose manners of the Irish.

The additions to the *Historia* are partly verse, partly prose. In the latter we are told that the Cruithnigh were the children of Gleoin; that they came from the land of Thrace; that they were called Agathirsi; that going to Ireland, the king got them to drive out the Tuatha Fidhbha (*pronounce* Fiva) for him, and these they slew; that then, getting wives from Heremon, they with Gub and his son Cathluan, this last being their first king in Alban, were driven out of Ireland into Alban. To the Cruithnigh are here ascribed the magical powers with which the Tuatha de Danaans are usually credited.

[1] *Celtic Scotland*, vol. i. p. 179. [2] *History of Ireland*, p. 22.
[3] Quoted in Bohn's translation of *Giraldus Cambrensis*, p. 140.

In the verse we have the following:

"How were they named before they came
To attain their sovereignty?
From their own weapons.
What was the name of their country?

Thracia was the name of their country,
Till they spread their sails,
After they had resolved to emigrate,
In the east of Europe.

Agathyrsi was their name
In the portion of Erchbi.
From their tattooing their fair skins
Were they called Picti."

In this portion Gleoin's name is spelt Geleoin, and of Cathluan it is said that—

"Cathluan gained battles
Without flinching or cowardice;
His onsets were not without fierceness,
Until he had slain the Britons.
Thus did they conquer Alban."

These people lived in the part of Ireland next to Alban, and, before considering in detail those extracts from the additions to Nennius, we may remark that the fact of the Picts and Scots, as the oldest Pictish chronicle tells us, being both of the nation of the Albani, seems much more suggestive of the neighbouring Alban, than of the continuous snows which bleached their hair in their native Scythia. That they took their name of Picts "in their own language," as it says, from a painted body, is equivalent to saying that they spoke Latin, as the word is not Celtic, but is simply, in its signification, *pictus* = painted (Latin). The name of the king Cruithne is in all the accounts.

From the earliest times the Germans and northern nations brewed both beer and mead, and while Cruidne is made a descendant of Partholan, Brecan

(spotted), of the celebrated Coire or kettle where he was drowned (whence Korryvreckan), is in the Dinnsenchus also said to have been Partholan's son.[1] In Germany the great original of beer-brewing is a certain Gambrinus, whose name seems a latinised Camber, the descendant of Brutus, after whom, according to the romances of Geoffrey of Monmouth, Cambria or Wales was called.

In the Triads, which are, appreciated at their highest value, only to be taken as a form of tradition, we are told that wheat and barley were introduced into Britain by a certain Col Frewi, where before there had been only oats and rye.[2] *Chwilfriwio* is to grind, shatter, break to pieces (Welsh), *chwil* = whirling.

The hand-mill or quern is by some supposed to have been introduced into Britain by the Romans, and its frequent presence in their dwellings testifies to its use by them; or it may have been introduced by the Belgae who, Caesar tells us, immigrated to Britain, and took the place of a pastoral people.

Pliny tells us that the Gauls prepared ale with a certain grain called in Celtic *brace*, and in Latin *sandalum*, which is probably what is called in French *épeautre*, barley, or a bearded wheat, with which the Walloons principally make their beer now.[3] This Bra, *brag* = malt of the Walloon, *braich* in Gaelic, is the origin of Brecan's caldron. The Picts were in Scotland credited with the brewing of heather ale, while the poems of the four Welsh bards are full of allusions to beer and mead-drinking. In Greek κρῑθή is barley, κρῑθῐάω, I eat barley, fatten with barley; κρῑθῐνος, made of barley. Has this any connection with

[1] O'Curry, *Materials*, p. 587. [2] Davies, *Celtic Research*, vol. i. p. 158.
[3] *Dictionnaire Wallone*, *voce* Bra.

"Cruithne"? In Gaelic, again, Cruithe is a dart—valiant; ancient Pictland = Cruithin-teath, which would make it correspond with Dalaraidhe and the Lucullean conjecture. Cruith is a harp, a violin, whence the word *crowder*, a musician.

Let us consider the statements in the Irish and Pictish additions. The Cruithnigh are said to have been the children of Gleoin, or Geleoin. The Firbolg, we have seen, were called Fir Galeoin (Reeves's *Adamnan*). Gleoin was son of Ercol. Ercol is simply Hercules. Tacitus tells us that the Germans asserted that the name of "Germany" was a modern addition to their names, "for that the people who first crossed the Rhine and expelled the Gauls, and are now called Tungri, were then named Germans, which appellation of a particular tribe, not of a whole people, gradually prevailed, so that the title of Germans, first assumed by the victors in order to excite terror, was afterwards adopted by the nation in general. They likewise have the tradition of a Hercules of their country, whose praises they sing before those of all other heroes, as they advance to battle."[1] Gleoin, Geleoin, Galeoin I should conclude, are the same name. It has been mentioned that the Tuatha de Danaans fought and conquered the Firbolg on Midsummer Day, or St. John's Eve. Gille Eoin is the servant of John; Ian Gen Eoin is also a bird, and a vessel—blade of a sword (O'Reilly). The Tuatha de Danaans brought the caldron of the Daghda with them, which was a vessel connected with divination, these people being celebrated magicians. I propose that Gille Eoin be considered as signifying servant of the vessel, or caldron. We are then told "Thracia was the name of their country, till they

[1] *Manners of the Germans*, c. 2.

spread their sails, after they had resolved to emigrate." Now, the Batavians commenced their historical existence, as already mentioned, at the battle of Pharsalia, of which Ovid says, in his *Metamorphoses*,[1] "it is certain this battle was fought at Philippi of Thrace," and curiously enough we find, on the authority of Livy, that a nation called Maedi, not unlike Maeatae, lived in Thrace, on the borders of Macedonia.

"And their (the Cruithnighi's) name was Agathirsi" (*ἄγω*, I lead, conduct, bring, celebrate; *ἄγων*, an assemblage, circus, contest; *θύρσος*, the staff of Bacchus, surmounted by a pine cone, and entwined with ivy and vine leaves). Orpheus, the Thracian bard, was the great expositor of the Dionysian or Bacchic worship, and on the staff of Bacchus the vine and ivy tendrils were symbolic of the reproductive power of nature. Agathirsi, the bearers of the thyrsus, is another name for Maeatae and Vecturiones. It is no great wonder if some of the celebrators of the rites of Bacchus found destruction in the maltster's caldron —Coire Bhraichan. The Orphica and Dionysica were introduced from Greece into Etruria, where we found the dolmens, and from whence came the bardic alphabet, and from thence to Rome. These rites were notoriously licentious, and the worshippers carried thyrsi and crowned themselves with garlands of ivy, vine, and fir. These Orphic festivals were also called *ὠμοφάγια*, either, as was supposed, because human victims were offered to the god, or because the priests imitated the eating of raw flesh.[2] In this story we most likely see the origin of the breast and buttock-devouring fancy of the Attacots.

The original source of all these genealogies is Herodotus, from whose translation by Cary, pub-

[1] xv. 823. [2] Lempriere's *Classical Dictionary*, *voce* Dionysica.

lished in Bohn's Classical Library, I take the following extracts. Herodotus wrote B.C. 484 to 408.

c. 5. "As the Scythians say, theirs is the most recent of all nations, and it arose in the following manner:—The first man that appeared in this country, which was a wilderness, was named Targitaus. They say that the parents of this Targitaus,—in my opinion relating what is incredible,—they say, however, that they were Jupiter and a daughter of the river Borysthenes [the Dnieper], that such was the origin of Targitaus; and that he had three sons, who went by the names of Lipoxais, Arpoxais, and the youngest Colaxais; that during their reign a plough, a yoke, an axe, and a bowl of golden workmanship, dropping down from heaven, fell on the Scythian territory; that the eldest, seeing them first, approached, intending to take them up, but as he came near, the gold began to burn; when he had retired, the second went up, and it did the same again; accordingly, the burning gold repulsed these; but when the youngest went up, the third, it became extinguished, and he carried the things home with him; and that the elder brothers, in consequence of this, giving way, surrendered the whole authority to the youngest. 6. From Lipoxais are descended those Scythians who are called Auchatae; from the second, Arpoxais, those who are called Catiari and Traspies; and from the youngest of them, the royal race, who are called Paralatae. But all have the name of Scoloti from the surname of their king, but the Grecians call them Scythians."[1]

Here we have, in the Scythian account of themselves, four precious things, like the four precious things of the Tuatha de Danaans, the principal of

[1] Herodotus, B. iv. (*Melpomene*), cc. 5 and 6.

which is a cup or bowl in either case, the possession of which conferred the right of sovereignty.

c. 7. "This sacred gold the kings watch with the greatest care, and annually approach it with magnificent sacrifices to render it propitious. If he who has the sacred gold happens to fall asleep in the open air on the festival, the Scythians say he cannot survive the year, and on this account they give him as much land as he can ride round on horseback in one day."

"Such," says Herodotus, c. 8, "is the account the Scythians give of themselves; but the Greeks who inhabit Pontus give the following account:—*they say* that Hercules, as he was driving away the herds of Geryon, arrived in this new country that was then a desert, and which the Scythians now inhabit; that Geryon, fixing his abode outside the Pontus, inhabited the island which the Greeks call Erytheia, situate near Gades, beyond the columns of Hercules in the ocean."

This Erytheia seems possibly the Eridhu of the Babylonians, and may possibly be the "portion of Erchbi" of the Irish and Pictish additions.

"The ocean, they say, beginning from the sunrise, flows round the whole earth, but they do not prove it in fact; that Hercules thence came to the country now called Scythia, and as a storm and frost overtook him, he drew his lion's skin over him and went to sleep; and in the meanwhile his mares, which were feeding apart from his chariot, vanished by some divine chance. 9. *They add*, that when Hercules awoke he sought for them, and that, having gone over the whole country, he at length came to the land called Hylaea. There he found a monster having two natures, half virgin, half viper, of which the upper parts from the buttocks resembled a woman, and the lower parts a serpent. When he saw he was asto-

nished, but asked her if she had anywhere seen his strayed mares. She said that she herself had them, and would not restore them to him till he had lain with her. Hercules accordingly lay with her on these terms. She however delayed giving back the mares, out of a desire to enjoy the company of Hercules as long as she could; he however was desirous of recovering them and departing. At last, as she restored the mares, she said: 'These mares that strayed hither I preserved for you, and you have paid me salvage, for I have three sons by you; tell me therefore what must I do with them when they are grown up; whether shall I establish them here—for I possess the rule over this country—or shall I send them to you?' She asked the question, but he replied, they say, 'When you see the children arrived at the age of men, you cannot err if you do this: whichever of them you see able to bend this bow, and thus girding himself with this girdle, make him an inhabitant of this country; and whichever fails in these tasks which I enjoin, send out of the country. If you do this you will please yourself and perform my injunctions.' 10. Then having drawn out one of his bows —for Hercules carried two at that time—and having shown her the belt, he gave her both the bow and the belt, which had a golden cup at the extremity of the clasp, and having given them he departed. But she, when the sons who were born to her attained to the age of men, in the first place gave them names: to the first Agathyrsus, to the second Gelonus, and to the youngest Scythes; and in the next place, remembering the orders, she did what had been enjoined; and two of her sons, Agathyrsus and Gelonus, being unable to come up to the proposed task, left the country, being expelled by their mother, but the

youngest of them, Scythes, having accomplished it, remained there. From this Scythes, son of Hercules, are descended those who have been kings of the Scythians, and from the cup the Scythians, even to this day, wear cups from their belts."

In the Zend Avesta[1] Mithra is armed with a gold club, a bow, quiver, and arrows—the arms of Hercules; he also carried an axe, and an axe was one of the four sacred things of the Scythians, as above mentioned. The initiated assumed a special girdle, called the "kosti," and on the engraved stones we find figures wearing this girdle carrying cups or chalices in their hands.[2] There is in this, I think, evidence of a worship allied in character to the Mithraic among the Scythians at this early period, while the tradition points to its having been peculiar to them from the time of the separation of the Agathyrsi and Geloni from them. Now see what Herodotus says of the Agathyrsi:—"104. The Agathyrsi are a most luxurious people, and wear a profusion of gold. They have promiscuous intercourse with women, to the end that they may be brethren one of another, and being all of one family, may not entertain hatred towards each other. In other respects they approach the usages of the Thracians."

In Book v. Herodotus gives us the customs of these, of whom he says:—"3. The nation of the Thracians is the greatest of any among men, except at least the Indians." Having described the peculiar points connected with the Getae, and Trausi, he tells us, c. 6: "There is, moreover, this custom, among the rest of the Thracians,—they sell their children for exportation. They keep no watch over their unmarried daughters, but suffer them to have intercourse with

[1] Lajard's *Mithra*, p. 135. [2] *Ibid.* p. 166.

what men they choose. But they keep a strict watch over their wives, and purchase them from their parents at high prices. To be marked with punctures is accounted a sign of noble birth; to be without punctures, ignoble. To be idle is most honourable; but to be a tiller of the soil, most dishonourable; to live by war and rapine is most glorious. These are the most remarkable of their customs." The place of the Agathyrsi is pretty carefully described, though the geography of Herodotus has not the accuracy of a modern manual. "From the Ister (Danube) at the parts above, stretching to the interior, Scythia is cut off first by the Agathyrsi," and "the river Maris flowing from the Agathyrsi, mingles with the Ister."[1] This river is, I conclude, the Morava, flowing north through modern Servia, possibly the origin of the "Moravia" from which our Scottish district Moray is said to have been called.

The Agathyrsi then were Thracians, the older branch, according to Greek tradition, of the Scythians; their nobility punctured themselves, and hence were Picti, doing this, as I have supposed, as a visible evidence of their rank in their mysterious cultus.

Of the Geloni we have the following account:[2]—

"The Budini, who are a great and populous nation, *paint* their whole bodies with a deep blue and red. There is in their country a city built of wood; its name is Gelonus; each side of the walls is thirty stades in length, it is lofty, and made entirely of wood. Their houses also and their temples are of wood, for there are these temples of the Grecian gods, adorned, after the Grecian manner, with images, altars, and shrines of wood. They celebrate the triennial festivals of Bacchus, and perform the Bacchanalian ceremonies, for

[1] Herodotus, B. iv. (*Melpomene*), c. 100, c. 49. [2] *Ibid.* c. 108.

the Geloni were originally Grecians, but, being expelled from the trading ports, settled among the Budini ; and they use a language partly Scythian and partly Grecian. 109. The Budini, however, do not use the same language as the Geloni, nor the same mode of living ; for the Budini, being indigenous, are nomades, and are the only people of these parts who eat vermin, whereas the Geloni are tillers of the soil, feed upon corn, cultivate gardens, and are not at all like the Budini in form or complexion. By the Greeks however the Budini are called Geloni, though erroneously so called. Their country is thickly covered with trees of all kinds ; and in the thickest woods is a spacious and large lake, and a morass and reeds around it : in this otters are taken, and beavers, and other square-faced animals ; their skins are sewed as borders to cloaks, and their testicles are useful for the cure of diseases of the womb." The historian is here speaking of the invasion of Scythia by Darius, and the Agathyrsi, Geloni, Budini, and other Thracians are included among the Scythians ; and in paragraph 136 we find Herodotus telling how the Geloni, Budini, and Sauromatae pursued the Persians towards the Ister, after they had crossed to the north side of it.

It seems to me scarcely probable that the so-called Pictish Chronicles could have derived their information from any other source than directly from Herodotus himself; and it may, I think, be taken as a further evidence of the Greek being the language in which we may naturally look for the derivation of our names.

That there were Thracians in Britain we know from the *Notitia*, in which the second cohort of Thracians is mentioned as occupying Gabrosentum, possibly at the west end of the south wall ;[1] and if it is admiss-

[1] Warburton's *Wall*, p. 134.

ible to believe that these might have left their traditions, it would support the proposition that in the Roman auxiliaries we find all the origins of our traditions. However, the completeness of the narrative seems positive evidence that the writer of the Pictish additions drew direct from Herodotus, but the grounds on which he thought himself entitled to do this seem not likely ever to be made clear. In fact, we can never know whether he adopted this Thracian origin for the Picts, because that of these Thracians the larger proportion were Agathyrsi or Geloni, or because of a tradition connecting some other of the Roman troops with a sojourn in Thrace; or whether, indeed, it is not altogether founded on the name Picti, and the statement of Herodotus that the Thracian nobility marked themselves with punctures.

There is another curious coincidence, however, which certainly should not pass without notice. It has been pointed out that it is probable that the cavalry of the auxiliaries of Rome played a prominent part in subsequent story; and we have seen how the older soldiers, after long service, had special privileges of citizenship granted them.

Now Herodotus[1] applies the name Agathoergi (Ἀγαθοέργοι) to Spartans "who were discharged from the cavalry, such as were senior, five in a year;" and it was "their duty during the year in which they are discharged from the cavalry not to remain inactive, but to go to different places, where they are sent by the Spartan Commonwealth." Might not some such name have been appropriated by the cavalry of the Romans stationed in Britain, and so connect them with the Arcani and Peithwyr?

When these Agathirsi or Picts went to Ireland,

[1] *Clio*, B. i. c. 67.

they got land on condition that they should drive out the Tuatha Fidhbha. If we spell the name of this people phonetically with the "dh" quiescent, as doubtless it should be, as it is in fai*dh*, a prophet, and the "bh" as *v* or *f*, it becomes Fifa. Now, these same people are elsewhere described as the Tuatha Fidga, and are called a British tribe. The first battles of Agricola in the campaign which ended in Mons Grampius were fought in what is now called the county, often jestingly the kingdom, of Fife. This division of Scotland is said, however, to have been called after one of the seven sons of Cruithne,[1] "the name of each man being given to his territory, as Fib, Ce, Cait, and the rest." "Cait" is here credited with giving his name to Caithnesia or Caithness. The Tuatha Fidhbha were never in Ireland as such, to be there slain by the Cruithne. The story seems to have arisen from the tradition of Agricola's conquest of what is now called Fife. "From them (the Cruithnigh) are every spell and every charm, and every *sreod*, and voices of birds, and every omen."[2] These magical powers are common to them with the Thracians and Etruscans. Thrasea is the name of a classical soothsayer, and the Romans got much of the knowledge of augury from the Etruscans.

"Cathluan" is the name of the first king that ruled over the Cruithnigh in Alban. *Cath* is battle, *lu*, *luth*, swift, active; Cathluan = the one active in fight. Cathluan is said to have been chosen king before the Cruithnigh went to Alba. The revolt of the Batavii, in which the Tungri joined, was, as previously narrated, suppressed by Petilius Cerealis, whose latter name, Cerealis, is itself synonymous with Cruithne, or nearly so, *Cruithneachd* being wheat in Gaelic, and under him

[1] *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, p. 25. [2] *Ibid.* p. 31.

when propraetor in Britain Agricola served. Cerealis's character is quite in concord with the lines already quoted, speaking of Cathluan. When a subaltern of Suetonius Paulinus, his rash valour led to the destruction of the 9th Legion, then under his command, at the time of the revolt of the Iceni. He next appears as a cavalry commander under Vespasian against Vitellius, when he suffered a check, "having advanced incautiously and with precipitation."[1] We are told by the same authority that when he and Civilis, the Batavian, were opposed to each other, neither commander was an advocate of slow movements, and that Cerealis was "more to be admired for the contempt in which he held the enemy, than for the prudence of his measures, he kindled the spirit of his soldiers by the bold tone of his language, intimating that he would engage the enemy on the first opportunity of getting at him."

It is a curious fact that the 9th Legion of which Cerealis was commander when defeated by the Iceni was the same Legion which, under Agricola, suffered the reverse in Fife after the first crossing the Forth, and that this legion was distinguished by the title "the Spanish." Tiles, marked "Legio IX. Hispanica," have been found in Britain beside coins of the time of Vespasian and Domitian who reigned between the years 69 and 96, and it was in Domitian's reign that Lucullus of the Lucullean spears was put to death. Wright remarks[2] that this legion, after the last campaign of Agricola, suddenly disappears from history, and is no more heard of. This Spanish Legion is presumably, I believe, the sole ground of the story of the colonisation of Ireland from Spain by Milesius.

[1] Tacitus, *History*, B. iii. c. 61.
[2] *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, p. 123.

To continue, however, the extracts from the *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, we are told—

> "How were they (the Cruithne) named before they came
> To attain their sovereignty?
> From their own weapons."

There is no question of paint or powder here. They were named after the weapons peculiar to themselves, which they used before they came to reign in Alban. If this is literally correct, it makes us fall back on the large bossed shields (*bolg*, a boss), and would be evidence in favour of the πύκτοι theory, and lead us to believe that we had to do with the Germans again. But as the Chronicles speak of Cruithnigh, and distinctly say that they were called Picts from tattooing their fair skins—it is likely that the weapon alluded to as peculiar to them was the Cruithe or dart. The special word used for spear in the notice of Sallustius Lucullus is *lancea*, which Ainsworth says is either a Spanish or Gaulish word, and denotes a broad-headed javelin. The sequence in the Chronicle would make the name Cruithnii older than Picti. Whether this throws any doubt on the accuracy of my surmises must be a matter of opinion.

In the Irish Chronicles the Cruithnigh are said to have descended like the Scots from Milesius through his son Ir. Colgan[1] considers them the same as the Tuatha de Danaans, and in the legend of the Picts of Dalaraidhe, written before 1373,[2] they are said to have first settled in Magh Fortrenn, the district between Forth and Tay, and then in Magh Girgin or Kincardineshire.

In the description given by O'Curry of the meeting of Sreng and Breas, the first Firbolg and Tuatha de

[1] Quoted in *Celtic Scotland*, vol. i. p. 182.
[2] *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, p. 318.

Danaan that encountered each other in Ireland, on Magh Rein (the field of darts ?) immediately before the battle of Magh Tuireadh, the only difference between them, speaking as they did the same language, was that the Firbolg was armed with "two heavy, thick, pointless, but sharply-rounded spears," while the Tuatha de Danaan man carried two "beautifully shaped, thin, slender, long, sharp-pointed spears."[1] Evidently their spears had much to do with the traditions. Many things connect the Picts and Tuatha de Danaans. Among others, in the Ossianic Society, vol. iii. p. 115, is a list of names of men of the latter, and these contain such as Ilbhreac=spotted lad, Abhortach Iol-dathaig, Abhortach many-coloured, and Mananan mac Lir was said to wear coloured clothes.

There is another name applied to a people of Lowland Scotland who are identified with the Picts.

Nennius, § 50, says the eleventh battle of Arthur was in the mountain "Breguoin, which we call Cat-Bregion." This name is also spelled Cathbregyon and Cathregonnum.[2] In one of the poems of the book of Taliessin, the Picts are styled "Y Cath Vreith," and it says "the Cat Vreith of a strange language is troubled from the ford of Taradyr to Port Wygir in Mona." The ford is the ford of Tarrador across the river Carron, near Falkirk.

The poem is one alluding to Cadwallan who ascended the throne of Venedotia or North Wales, 617 A.D., who died in 659, after defeating the Northumbrians with the assistance of Penda, and occupying their country for some time. Skene derives the name from *brych*=macula, a spot, breac in

[1] O'Curry's *Materials*, p. 245.
[2] *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. i. pp. 57, 106.

Gaelic.[1] Now, in all the spellings but the poetic one, the *th* of Vreith is represented by a *g*, and Skene tells us that Brec*h*einawg (the same word as Brecknock in South Wales) is applied to the district about Eiddyn (Edinburgh), which was inhabited by the Cat-bregion. Now *braich*, plural *breichiau*, in Welsh, is an arm, a branch, a verse, spelt in old MSS., according to Zeuss, *breich*. In Aremoric it is *bregh*, *brech*, in Gaelic *brac*, and in composition is found in the Welsh name Karadawc *vreich*uras, Caractacus stout arm. Davies tells us that the branch was a badge of the bardic office, and we have already noticed the connection with bards and branches.

The word *cat* signifies a cat, but also in its modern aspirated form *cath* a tribe, a battalion, says O'Reilly, of 3000 men. Connected with it is the Latin *caterva*, a troop, and most probably *ceatharn*, Scotch Gaelic, a troop, and *ceatharnach*, a stout, robust man, a soldier, a *cateran*. Curiously the Aremoric *brech* = brachium, has a synonymous term, or at least a word translated *humerus*, the shoulder. *Scoth* or *scoacc*, in modern Breton *skoe*, *skoaz*—also signifying a vine branch, of which the modern form is *skod*.[2] Is this the real origin of the term Scot ?

The Cath-bregion were Scothi, as well as Picts (πύκτοι ?). *Skao* is the name of a Breton family, and signifies the elder-tree. *Sho* is an obsolete word for a blow, a stroke.[3]

The letter *t* is mutable in Aremoric into *z*.[4] *Briz* signifies both a combat, mêlée, and "marked with various colours." *Bréchin* signifies sprigs, slips of wood.

[1] *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. i. p. 84.
[2] Zeuss, *Gram. Celtic*, pp. 97, 98.
[3] A *scud* on the lug (?).
[4] Legonidec, p. 13.

We are told that Cormac Ulfada in the third century drove the Picts of Ulster to Manann connected with Cruithentuaith, *i.e.* to the district in which are Slamannan and Clackmannan in Scotland.[1] *Cormac* means a brewer, (*mac coire*, son of the kettle?) and he was most likely a Pict himself. There are fully three hundred years between the date of the poem speaking of the Cath-vreith and the date of this "driver afar" of the Ulidians (*Uladh*, and *fada*, far, Ulfada). But it is curious that the Cath vreich were of a "strange language:" was this Gaelic as opposed to Welsh or Aremoric? I confess I do not feel inclined to accept as historic this derivation of the name Ulfada. The etymology of the name is certainly forced, and I am inclined to suggest *gul fada* (far crying) as the proper derivation, the reasons for which will appear more clearly hereafter.

Geoffrey of Monmouth wrote about the year 1152, at the time of the Rebellion of Malcolm Mac Eth, and the people of Ergadia or the north-west of Scotland, Galway, and Moravia or Moray, the district north of Spey to Caithness, against David I. These seem to have been all of Pictish descent. Geoffrey then, may, it is not unlikely, have known what was the current tradition as to their origin at that time, and he distinctly tells us[2] that the Moravienses came from Scythia in the time of Vespasian. He makes them marry Irish wives and settle in Caithness, and so give rise to the Pictish nation; and then he tells us that the Picts, marrying still among the Irish, gave rise to the Scots. This account seems to be wonderfully near the truth so far as these main facts are concerned.

[1] *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. i. p. 84.
[2] Book iv. c. 7.

Claudian, in 397, as already quoted, says Stilicho, "cleft the hyperborean waves with dashing oar" in pursuit of the Scots, and, in the sixth century, we find the name of Scotia applied to Ireland. A list of the earliest notices of this application of the name is given by Skene in *Celtic Scotland*.[1] The oldest account of the settlement of the Scots there is contained in the Book of Leinster, written, according to O'Curry, before 1160. It is ascribed to Maelmurra of Othain, who died A.D. 884.[2] He calls them Greeks, descended from Fenius, who built the tower of Nembroth, and founded a school for languages! This Fenius Farsaid had a son, Nel, who went to Egypt and married Forann's (Pharaoh) daughter, Scota, whose son was Gaedhel Glass. From Gaedhel, his followers were called Gael; Feni, from Fenius; Scoti, from Scota. Passing into Spain, from thence Ith, son of Breogan, discovered Ireland, but being killed, Luguid, his son, and the *six* sons of Miledh, came over to avenge his death. They there allied themselves with the Firbolg, Tuatha de Danaans, and the children of Nemedh. Then Eireamon took the north of Ireland, Eber the south, while Luguid had certain districts assigned to him. They then took wives of the Tuatha de Danaans, having been deprived of their wives by the Cruithnigh. In another version the wives are granted to the Cruithne as a favour, on condition that the regal succession should be by the mother's side.

Now, if the oldest native authorities claim Greece as the original habitat of the Scots, there is good ground for maintaining that their name should have a Greek meaning,—a claim possibly also founded on the Homeric name of the Greeks, Δαναοί, since the

[1] Vol. i. p. 3. [2] *Celtic Scotland*, vol. i. p. 175.

Tuatha de Danaans were the early Irish. Of course I have not the slightest belief in the people having a Greek name because they came from Greece, but, on the contrary, that they were said to have come from Greece because they had a Greek name. Pharaoh, as Forann, if the tradition were worthy of serious consideration, is to me much more likely to be derived from the Breton *Férô*, fierce, savage, than to have any connection with the king of Egypt, and to point to a union between the invaders and the barbarian natives; in either case the descendants, whether of a Greek and an Egyptian, or of a legionary of the Legio IX. Hispanica, and a Gwyddel, were a mixed race. Nel, the name of Fenius's son, has a resemblance to that of Nial Naoi ghiallach, of whose race was Saint Columba, and who carried off St. Patrick from Aremorica according to the editor of the *Annals of the Four Masters*.[1] *Naw*, Welsh; Gaelic *naoi*, nine; *gwial*, pl. *gwiail*, rods (Welsh). He is called generally Nial "of the nine hostages." "Pharaoh" appears in the name Dinas in Wales, the burial-place of the red and white dragons, drowned in a mead caldron,[2] and, in the *Gwarchan of Maelderv*, by Taliessin, where we are told the

> "Victor gazed towards the fair one,
> Of bright and prominent uplifted front,
> On the ruddy dragon, the palladium of Pharaon,
> Which will in the air accompany the people."

Here the allusion is generally supposed to be to Arthur's standard, and justly, I believe, to a *signum*, but not a flag, which belonged, as the poem tells us, "to the retinue of the great Wall."[3] In the *Senchus*

[1] *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. i. p. 128, *note*.
[2] *Mabinogion*, vol. iii. p. 310.
[3] *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. i. p. 415.

Mor[1] we have the story of Fenius being sent for to Pharaoh's court, "Cai" being the messenger, and when he came, "Nel," or "Niul," his son, received in reward Pharaoh's daughter.

"Cai," the messenger's name, is the same word as *kay*, a mist, fog; Gaelic, *ceo;* while *niwl* in Welsh is fog also; there is certainly a connection between the names.

"Fenius" possibly arises from the root which is found in *Veneti*, *Venedotia*, Vannes, *i.e.* Vanadis, identified with the Thracian moon-goddess Bendis,[2] Venus or Freia; but Fenius Farsaid appears in another legend as Aeneas, a Lacedemonian.[3] This allows us to drop the F from his surname also, which leaves us *arsaid*, from *arsa*, *arsach*, old, ancient, aged; *arsingheachd*, ancient deeds. And from this I would deduce the story of Geoffrey of Monmouth as to the descent of the Britons from Brutus, Aeneas's great-grandson.[4] It is curious that Fordun, when telling of the army with which William the Lion invaded England, mentions the Highland Scots whom they called *bruti*, and Bower says of them, "Qui Catervani seu Caterarii vocantur, quos etiam quidam Brutos vocant."[5] One scarcely likes to think that this is simply equivalent to calling them *brutes*. There were people in Italy called Brutii, who lost their freedom from joining Hannibal.[6] The son, then, of Nel or Niul was Gaedhel Glas. *Glas* is a term denoting colour, and is probably connected with the Gaulish word "*Glas*tum," applied to the dye woad by Pliny the younger (A.D. 23 to 79),[7] who tells us that "their whole bodies smeared with

[1] *Senchus Mor*, vol. i. p. 21.
[2] Grimm's *Mythology*, vol. iii. p. 115.
[3] *Celtic Scotland*, vol. i. p. 183.
[4] *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, Book i. c. 3.
[5] Fordun, vol. ii., *notes*, p. 431.
[6] Ainsworth *voce* Brutiani, servile officers of the magistrates.
[7] Book xxii. 2. Quoted, Giles, vol. ii. p. 50.

which, and naked, the wives and '*nurus*' (young married women) of the Britons retire to certain sacred rites." The Scots, then, were descended of the woad-coloured Gadal, and the meaning possibly applicable to this term has been mentioned above,—*Glaz*, woad, Breton.

Miledh, in Latin Milesius, can surely be claimed as the offspring of *miles*, a soldier, while Ith, the son of Brogan, who was conjoined with his sons, finds the origin of his name, in Welsh, in *ith*, corn, and *bro*, an inhabited land,—*Bröig*, pleasant, as a vale.

Ith landed in Ulster, and he was the first of the Scots who visited Ireland according to some accounts,[1] while Nennius tells us the Scots passed from Spain to Dalrieta in the north of Ulster.[2] Is it not most probably something more than a coincidence that their landing-place should, while so far from Spain, be so near the country in which we last find the "Spanish" legion.

Bede[3] speaks of the northern province of the Scots, and immediately thereafter of the Scots which dwelt in the south; so that in the seventh century they were not confined to one district. From Lugaidh, son of Ith, are descended, according to tradition, the Dalcassians of Munster who settled in the west of the present county of Cork, and who are connected by Emer Lughaidh's cousin with the Ulidians, from whom they are said to have sprung. Now, of the descendants of Emer mac Ir, the O'Driscolls are the principal family.[4] If this story is correct, the locality of the family is a much more likely landing-place from Spain; but we are told that they were driven out of Ulster by the clan Deaghaid. The name O'Driscoll is a curious

[1] Ossianic Society, vol. v. p. 255.
[2] Para. 15.
[3] Book iii. chap. 3.
[4] O'Curry, *Materials*, p. 207.

one. Connal Ceatharnach, the Cruithnean, foster-father of Cuchullin, is called in one of the poems in the Dean of Lismore's Book, *Mac Eddirschol.* The name is also spelled *Eidersgel*, Eidirsceol, and in Welsh, to all appearance, as Adrasdil. Is not this the great ash, the world-tree of Norse mythology, Ygdrasil, and old as that of Babylonia, where it was said to be situated in the province of *Eridhu*, "into the heart whereof man hath not penetrated."[1] Gildas's statement that the Scots came from the north-west is quite in harmony with the view that their locality was in that part of Ireland next Alban.

In the Irish legends we find that the provincial kings of Britain and of Cornwall are credited with an Irish parentage. In the Irish additions to Nennius the following account is given:[2] "Sarran after this" (that is, after the decline of the Roman power in Britain, and in the time of St. Martin of Tours, A.D. 371) "assumed the sovereignty of Britain, and established his power over the Saxons and Cruithneach, and he took to wife the daughter of the king of Alban." That is to say, one daughter of the king of Alban, whom he proposed to marry, eloped with Muredach of the house of Nial to Erin, and bore him four sons, Murcertach mac Erca, and Feradach and Tighernach, and Maian. Sarran married another daughter and had issue, Luirig, Cairneach, Dallan, and Caemhlach. Cairnech, who becomes a Bishop, incites Murcertach mac Erca to kill Cairnech's brother Luirig, who had succeeded his father as king of Alban, which Murcertach does, and then marries his wife, by whom he had issue, Constantine and Gaedel Ficht, from whom descend the provincial kings of Britain

[1] Sayce's *Babylonian Literature*, p. 37.
[2] *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, p. 52, from *Book of Ballymote.*

and of Cornwall. Subsequently Mac Erca kills the provincial kings of Ireland and assumes the sovereignty, and Cairnech becomes the first Bishop of clan Neil, and of Tara.

This is a church legend, and the cause of Cairnech's ill-will to Luirig is said to have been because Luirig said he cared more for the power of the pet wild fawn of the Bishop than for his own power, or that of the God he worshipped. Then a miracle occurred—a wild fawn drew all Luirig's host after it save King Luirig alone; and Mac Erca, taking the opportunity, murdered him, and carried his head to his brother, who kept it, telling Murcertach that he might eat the flesh, while he retained the bone.

"Luirigh" is an armed man (O'Reilly), son of Sarran, from *sàr*, oppression, violence. Sar Sara = a hero (M'Leod and Dewar), and we have the first notice of a pursuit of what is here called a fawn, to which the Albanic king ascribed more power than to the Christian God, and which came into the hands of the church; and I am inclined to the belief that Luirig's head, Carnech's fawn, and the fawn that drew the host of Alban after it, are all allusions to the same thing. We undoubtedly here find a claim made that Constantine, by whom may most likely be meant Constantine the Great, who was son of Constantius, the conqueror of the party who followed Allectus and *Carausius* (*carw*, a hart, a stag, Welsh), by Helena, the offspring, as Eutropius, who wrote A.D. 360, says, of a low marriage, while Orosius, who wrote A.D. 417, calls her the concubine of Constantius. The other son of Murcertach mac Erca, Gaedel Ficht, is simply a Pict or Gaelic Pict, as the Welsh writers call what seem to me to have been Picts and Scots, the Gwyddel (Gaedal) being pure Irish, and he is the son of an

Irish and Albanic cross-bred man with an Albanic woman. And this Albanic Irishman, though the son of Muiredach, is called son of Erca or Hercules like a Pict.

Now, dismissing for the present Brutus, and the Picts who eight hundred years after the time of Eli the High Priest occupied the Orkneys, Partholomus the first, Nimech the second, and a Spanish soldier the third, invader of Ireland, and others from Spain, who "possessed themselves of various parts of Britain," let us examine the names of Nennius's final invaders:[1] "Last of all came one Damhoctor (various readings are Hoctor, Clamhoctor, and Elamhoctor) who continueth there, and whose descendants remain there to this day. Istoreth, the son of Istorinus, with his followers held Dalrieta; Builc had the island Eubonia, and other adjacent places. The sons of Liethali obtained the country of the Dimetae, where is a city called Menavia, and the province Guiher and Cetgueli, which they held till they were expelled from every part of Britain by Cunedda and his sons."

This passage Skene says is corrupt, and has been so from an early period, because the Irish translation of the eleventh century bears evident marks of being an attempt to explain what was obscure to the writer.[2] The account here alluded to is as follows:[3]—"Afterwards came damh achtor (*i.e.* a company of eight) with a fleet, and dwelt in Erin, and took possession of a great portion of it. The Firbolg, moreover, took possession of Manand and certain islands in like manner, Ara and Ila and Recca. The children of Gleoin, son of Ercol, took possession of the islands of Orcc, that is Historend, son of Historrim, son of Agam, son of Agathirsi, and were dispersed again from the

[1] Nennius, para. 14.
[2] *Celtic Scotland*, vol. i. p. 138.
[3] *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, p. 23.

islands of Orcc; that is, Cruithne, son of Cinge, son of Luctai, son of Parthai, son of Historech, went and took possession of the north of the island of Britain, and his seven sons divided the land into seven divisions; and Onbecan (the little one), son of Caith, son of Cruithne, took the sovereignty of the seven divisions."

Generally we notice here that Nennius settles this "company of eight" in Britain; and his untranslatable name Damhoctor goes to prove that his authority for his statement was a Gaelic one. The Irish version of Nennius sets them down in Ireland—Cruithne and his seven sons take possession of the north of Scotland; Milesius, Luguid, and the six sons of Milesius are another company of eight; Cunedda's sons who drove out the sons of Liethali were eight in number;[1] and we will find a certain Ked mac Maghach who had seven brothers, and who is connected with Connaught Ulster and North Wales, also one of a company of eight. Nennius tells us that the descendants of Damhoctor remained in Britain. If so, it could scarcely be a settlement in North Wales from whence they were driven out by Maelgwn, the descendant of Cunetha, as Skene supposes. But who is Istoreth or Historeth of the Irish, the father of Parthai, whom I take to be Partholanus, and who is here an undoubted Pict, from his descent from Agathirsi, of which we may remember the signification advocated was to the effect that it connected the word with the Orpheic or Bacchic worship.

ὕστερα = the womb, from ὕστερος -α -ον, lower, *i.e.* the lower part of the belly. In Damm's Dictionary, p. 481, we find κάπριος = aper, a wild boar, a boar, the same as κάπρος. καπρᾶν, to rut like a sow, is equal to

[1] Stevenson's Nennius, para. 62.

ἀσέλγαινειν, to behave lasciviously, immodestly, and γυνή καπρῶσα, a woman rutting like a sow = ἡ ἄσελγης, a wanton or lascivious woman. Hence a male sow used to be sacrificed to Venus, especially among the Argives, with whom there was ἑορτὴ Ἀφροδιτης, a festival of Venus, τὰ ὕστηρια or ἡ ὑστηρία; ὗς, ὑος, boar, sow, hog. In Powell's Llhuyd's Cambria, Historinus is called Yscroeth from *scroth*, Welsh, the womb. This is simply another allusion to the worship of the generative principle, as was the Orphic. Now Nennius says Historeth held Dalrieta, and this is the name of the part of Ireland next Dalaraidhe from which came the first Scottish colony to inhabit that part of Argyllshire likewise called Dalrieta.

Builc in Eubonia (the Isle of Man), and the Firbolg in Manand, Islay, and Arran, are evidently intended for the same people.

Builc is called Morcant, and in Scotland there is a clan Morgand, that is, the Mac Kays; and the little son of *Cai*th, we saw, took the sovereignty over all the seven divisions of the settlement in the north of Alban, from the Orkneys, and he was a descendant of Historech. The Firbolg were driven out of Ireland by Cormac Ullfata, a translation of whose name is Cormac *long hand*, and we have the authority of Orosius who wrote in the fifth century[1] for the island of Man being inhabited by the Scotic nation, (it is curious that Manx is to this day a nearer dialect to Scottish than Irish Gaelic is); and we will find that the principal driver-out of Scots from Dimetia, one of the *sons* of Cunedda, was a Cas*wallan long hand* who drove out the sons of *Liethali*, also called the sons of Bethoun, from Dimetia, these sons of Cunedda coming from Manand in Lothian.

[1] Quoted, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. i. p. 84.

Does it not bear on the face of it that all these imaginary persons are merely the remains of a common tradition, and that, so far as they represent a people, it is a people sprung from a common stock?

What is the account we have of Cunedda? He and his sons came from Manau Guotodin in the north[1] —which Skene defines for us as follows.[2] It was bounded on the west by a line drawn from Sla*mannan* Moor to the Pentland Hills, including the great moor formerly called Cal*dover* Moor (hence the *Dobhar* and Iar*dobhar* from whence came the Tuatha de Danaans), consisting of the modern west, mid, and east Calder, and the parishes of Linlithgow, Bathgate, and Whitburn in Linlithgowshire. It probably also included that part of the range of the Pentlands called Old Pentland Moor, till it came down on the North Esk, which formed its eastern boundary to the sea. At the point called Queensferry it approaches within a short distance of the opposite coast, and the name of Clackmannan on the northern shore indicates that that district also belonged to it. This district was then the country from which came the Tuatha de Danaans and also the Cat vreith. The name Manau is also applied to the Isle of Man, being in fact the Welsh name for Man.

Cunedda, Cuneda, Skene says, retired behind the southern wall in A.D. 410 from Manand, the date being calculated from what Nennius tells us of him; and Skene adds that the term "his sons" is used loosely to signify his descendants. In the Welsh genealogies his descent is from a certain *Brithguein*, mongrel or spotted, which makes him a Pict, who was descended of Beli Mawr.[3] In the genealogies annexed

[1] Nennius, para. 62.
[2] *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. i. p. 91.
[3] *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 84.

to the Harleian MS. of Nennius, written A.D. 977,[1] he is said to have been son of Patern, son of Tacit, son of Cein.

Ausonius, A.D. 380, thus addresses a Professor of Literature at Burdigala (Bordeaux) :—

"Thou Bagocassis (bag, a little vessel, a boat, qwaz, servant, Aremoric, = Cas, Cos, in Cospatrick), sprung from the stock of the Druids, if the report does not deceive truth, that the race was consecrated from the temple of the leader Belenus, and thence your names to thee of *Patera;* thus the mystic Apollinares name their servants." "Nor shall I say nothing of the old man named Phœbitius (Phœbus, Apollo), who, as warden of Belenus, brought thence no assistance but as it pleased (him?), sprung from the stock of the Druids of the Aremoric race."[2] A *patera* is a drinking vessel, saucer-shaped, with or without a handle.

Cuneda was thus supposed to be connected with a religious rite; and Beli Mawr is most probably Belenus the god, from whose fane assistance was brought, at the will, apparently, of the attendant priest. In Breton we find *bellennik* or *pellennik* is a sprig, a straw, a *fétu,* of which the expression, "tirer au court fétu," which means to draw cuts or lots, we have a hint as to the assistance the priest brought from Belenus. *Beli,* in Aremoric, is power, authority, sovereignty. The name Patarus, connected with the Thracians, appears in Eustathius, who, alluding to an irruption of the Cimmerii into Asia, according to Herodotus about a century after the Trojan war, tells us "that not only the Migri and Phryges, but also the Thracians, went out of Europe

[1] *Four Ancient Books of Wales,* vol. i. p. 129.
[2] Ausonius, Prof. 4, 10, quoted by Davies, vol. i. p. 218.

into Asia, with *Patarus*, their leader, when the Cimmerii overran Asia.[1]

Tacit needs but the Latin termination, I should think, to speak for itself as connected with the "Sgal Balbh" or "mute bard," "Ri Cruithentuaith acus Manaind," king of Albanic Pictland, and Manand,[2] of the *Book of Ballymote*. *Cein* may possibly have to do with the root of the Welsh word *ceiniad*, a singer, chanter, or *ceincio*, to branch out or ramify.

In the *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, Cunedda appears as "to be admired in the tumult with 900 horse," "pre-eminent before the furrow and the sod," and "there was trembling from fear of Cunedda the burner, in Caer Weir and Caer Lliwelydd."

These cities are Durham and Carlisle, *behind* either end of the south wall. The writer evidently did not consider Cunedda's *retirement* behind the wall as an unmixed blessing, else why the trembling for fear of him in these towns? while the numbers of his cavalry point to his heading a force of Roman auxiliaries, as pointed out by Skene.

The name Tacit suggests Tacitus, which again suggests Agricola, whose first name, Cnaeus, requires little ingenuity to make it Cunaethus, and the priestly connection reminds us that "the pontificate was added to his (Agricola's) other dignities," on his appointment to the governorship of Britain.

I certainly agree in the belief of the occupation of the country below the south wall by the so-called sons of Cunedda, and I would connect these people with the Tungrians, of whom we have an altar found at Polmont, dedicated to Hercules,[3] and another at

[1] Davies, *Celtic Research*, vol. i. p. 144.
[2] *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. i. p. 79.
[3] Wright, *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, p. 325.

Cramond, in the very centre of Manand, dedicated to the mothers of Alaterva and of the fields;[1] but I believe they possessed themselves of the southern country, being descendants of Roman soldiers certainly, but appearing in Roman history as Picts.

The principal of his descendants we have to deal with are, however, not his eight sons who divided Wales into eight provinces, but Mailcun and Caswallan, respectively kings, apparently, of North and South Wales.

It is in connection with Mailcun that Nennius gives the particulars by which the date of Cunedda is fixed.[2]

"The great king Mailcun reigned among the Britons in the district of Guenedota, because his *atavus* Cunedda had come with his sons, eight in number, from the left-hand part, *i.e.* from the country that is called Manau Guotodin, one hundred and forty-six years before Mailcun reigned, and expelled the Scots with much slaughter from these countries." The reign of Mailcun was during the time of five bards, mentioned by name, including Aneurin and Taliessin.

Now, as *atavus* represents not only a great-great-grandfather, which it does specifically, but also in general a remote ancestor, I suggest that Nennius may, not improbably, have fixed a date for himself by computation from a source unknown to us, and that, whatever part the eight sons and Cunedda themselves have played, it is as likely to have been as primary leaders long before the period Nennius fixes; and, in fact, it may simply represent the same events as some parts of the Arthurian legend.

In the Life of St. Kentigern, written by Joceline of Furness in the twelfth century—a life of a saint

[1] Wright, *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, p. 347. [2] Nennius, para. 62.

who, I believe, never existed in flesh and blood,—we find a Caswallan as king of Dimetia, from whom Kentigern received the right of building the church of Llan Elwy, while Mailcun, who also gets the credit of the gift, is represented as coming in fierce anger, and ordering the stoppage of the work. The Caswallan here mentioned is Caswallan Lawhir or "long hand," who drove the Scots out of Wales, as Cormac Ulfada, long arm, drove the Firbolg out of Ulster.

The name Caswallaun is undoubtedly the same as the Cassivellaunus of Caesar. The latter must have been of Belgic descent. The Velauni were a tribe in Gaul, while Dion Cassius tells us of the Κατουελλανοι in Britain, the spelling *ουελλανοι* being in the same relation to Velauni as the Greek *ουατης* to the Latin Vates. Nennius tells us that the sons of *Liethali* obtained the country of the *Dimetae*, and the meaning of *Liethali* is of interest. Hesychius[1] informs us that a sacrifice was offered to Aphrodite (Venus), designated by the significant name of καρπόσις = enjoyment, advantage, from καρπόω, I form fruit (κάρπος), possess, enjoy, render fruitful, and that a festival in her honour was called *θύλλα*. Θύλλα signifies branches or leafage, says Lajard, and for this reason it should perhaps be read *φύλλα*; θαλλος, -ου, branch, sprout, leaves; θόλος, -εος, a sprout, a branch, descendant; *φύλλα*, from *φύλλον*, -ου, neut., a leaf-flower, aromatic herb. In Giraldus Cambrensis's *Conquest of Ireland*,[2] he tells us of a certain *lech labhair* appealed to as an avenging power in the neighbourhood of St. David's, the town Menavia of Dimetia, the derivation of which name comes evidently from *lech*, a stone, *lia* in Gaelic, and *llafur*, tillage, more correctly than from *llafar*, speech. There is a Greek word, λέα, a stone,

[1] Quoted, Lajard's *Worship of Venus*, p. 208. [2] Chap. 37.

used by weavers, while λεῖα is spoil, booty. The children of Liethali then are, it seems to me, the same as the children of Lech Llafur, and this brings us back to the same sources of nomenclature as Μαιαται and Vecturiones. On an inscription on the south Roman wall we have the name of the Κατουελλανοι spelt in Latin in the genitive plural, "Catu*vellaun*-orum,"[1] the same, in fact, as in Caesar. Now, in Gaelic there is no *v*, and the name would in that alphabet appear as Fellaun.

In Gaelic ecclesiastical story we have a saint, or rather—though I am of opinion they are the same in origin—two saints, of this name, spelled Fillan generally, also Phillan, etc.

1. Faolan *anlobhar* of Rath Erran in Albain, and of Cill Fhaelain in Laoghis in Leinster, of the race of Aengus, son of Nadfraech, king of Munster. Rath Erann is Dundurn, at the east end of Loch Earn, Perthshire. The Irish site is in the parish of Kilcomanbane, in Queen's County.

2. Fillan, son of Feradach by Kentigerna, daughter of Cellach Cualan, king of Leinster, and he is located at Glendeochquy, the modern Glendochart, Perthshire.

These have churches dedicated to them at Loch Alsh, Renfrew, Wigton, and a cave at Pittenweem.

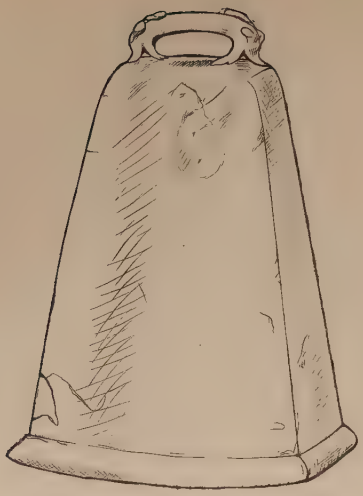
The term *anlobhair* applied to the first has been supposed to mean either, speaking with difficulty, *am labhair*, or to be *an lobar*, the leper. The ascribing of leprosy to saints, real or fictitious, is not to be wondered at, when we know that, in the traditions of the early Church, our Lord himself was said to be so afflicted,[2] in accordance with an expression used in the Talmud. The "speaking" is the same idea as

[1] Warburton's *Wall*, p. 91.
[2] Farrar's *Life of Christ*, vol. i. p. 149.

the lech *labhair*, and originally sprang from the word signifying the result of cultivation, tillage. The second Fillan, again, is said to have been born with a stone in his mouth, and to have passed the first year of his life in a pool of water.

Now, is not the name we have seen of Partholanus possibly compounded of the word *θύλλα*, and *bar?* Bar in Gaelic would signify the summit, and St. Fillan, with the stone in his mouth, suggests the Coppeen Olan, or its equivalent.

In St. Olan's churchyard, Aghabulloge, Coolineagh, county Cork (Ord. Sheet 61), is a stone, formerly called St. Olan's stone, on which is an Ogham inscription which is not translateable. "It had a movable cap of a semi-globular shape, known as the 'Coppeen Olan,' which was supposed to be endowed with miraculous powers, having the gift of locomotion, so that if removed to a distance it would find its way back again to its old quarters." It was a specific for headache when placed on the head, and was efficacious in female complaints. In the Antiquarian Museum of Edinburgh is the bell of St. Fillan, which, placed on the head, was a curative agent for diseases of the brain, and shared also with the Coppeen the power of locomotion. This bell is a fine casting of brass or bright bronze of a wedge shape (cuneiform), having for its handle a two-headed dolphin, or what is sometimes called a sea-goat, on the summit of the two heads of which are, as already pointed out by the late Bishop of Brechin, distinct phalli. The dragonesque animal representing the fertilising power of water, the symbol to the female power of reproduction; the phalli, plainly the male power of reproduction; and it is noteworthy that the first Fillan was said to be a disciple of St. Ailbe, of Imluch in Tipperary, and *ail* is a stone, a



The Bell of St. Fillan

Handle of Bell

splinter of rock, a prickle in Gaelic (O'Reilly), gen. *ailighe*. Ailbe is also the name of the person whom Fionn or Fingal is said to have married when Diarmad eloped with his former wife, Grainne ; and in connection with this it is noteworthy that Irish dolmen are called by the people the beds of Diarmid and Grainne.

Now there is evidence which goes to prove the connection of the phallus with the name Fillan, if it is, as I have stated, the same as Velaunus. Dion Cassius mentions a British tribe which was subject to the Cativellauni in Britain, and these he calls Boduni. *Bod*, in Gaelic, is a tail, *penis;* in Welsh it is a verb, to be, to exist. There is at Tara a Dallan or pillar-stone, called the Bod Fergus, the penis Fergusi ; and Brash[1] tells us that there is an unmistakeable phallus on Inismurry, on the west coast of Ireland, and that there are many others throughout the country, to which virtues of a peculiar nature are ascribed by the peasantry. The name of the Boduni, then, simply connects them with a phallic worship, and is probably but the British expression for Velauni.

But these sons of Liethali are also called, in various readings, the children of Bethan, or Vethan, which clearly contains at its root the word Beth, or Beatha, life. And is not Bedfordshire, in the district of the Cativelauni, composed of Bed = Bod and gwyr, plural of gwr, a man ?

Caswallan, then—*cas* being the root word of, and probably the same as what, in feudal times was called a vassal—seems to denote the servant, or, as one might say, minister of the phallus, while the bell of St. Fillan is either a Christian relic, made so as to commemorate the older forms of worship—if one can believe this

[1] *Oghum Inscribed Monuments*, p. 95.

likely—or a genuine relic of pre-Christian times, which the ingenuity of the Church utilised for its own purposes, and to which was appended a story coloured to suit Christian beliefs, and yet retaining in it unmistakeable allusions to its true origin. Caswallan has been accepted as the father of Nennius's Mailcun, of whom, beyond Nennius's notice, we have little information, except it be under the name of Maglocunus as he appears in the pages of Gildas, where he receives the title of "Dragon of the Island."

I give Gildas's[1] account of him from the translation in Bohn's Antiquarian Library :—

"And likewise, O thou dragon of the Island, who hast deprived many tyrants as well of the kingdoms as of their lives, and though the last mentioned in my writing, the first in mischief, exceeding many in power, and also in malice, more liberal than others in giving, more licentious in sinning, strong in arms, but stronger in working thine own soul's destruction, Maglocune, why art thou (as if soaked in the wine of the Sodomitical grape), foolishly rolling in that black pool of thine offences ? Why dost thou wilfully heap like a mountain, upon thy kingly shoulders, such a load of sins ? Why dost thou show thyself unto the King of Kings, who hath made thee as well in kingdom as in stature of body, higher than almost all the other chiefs of Britain, not better likewise in virtues than the rest ? Listen then awhile, and hear patiently the following enumeration of thy deeds, wherein I will not touch any domestic and light offences (if yet any of them are light), but only those open ones, which are spread far and wide in the knowledge of all men. Didst not thou in the very beginning of thy youth terribly oppress with sword, spear, and fire, the king

[1] Gildas, p. 318.

thine uncle, together with his courageous bands of soldiers, whose countenances in battle were not unlike those of young lions?"

"But when the imagination of thy violent rule had succeeded according to thy wishes, and thou wast urged by a desire to turn into the right way, night and day the consciousness of thy crimes afflicted thee, whilst thou didst ruminate on the Lord's ritual and the ordinances of the monks; and then publish to the world, and vow thyself before God a monk, with no intention to be unfaithful, as thou didst say, having burst through those toils in which such great beasts as thyself were used to become entangled, whether it were love of rule, of gold or silver, or, what is stronger still, the fancies of thine own heart. And didst thou not, as a dove which cleaves the yielding air with its pinions, and by its rapid turns escapes the furious hawk, safely return to the cells where the saints repose, as a most certain place of refuge? Oh how great a joy should it have been to our mother church if the enemy of all mankind had not lamentably pulled thee, as it were, out of her bosom! Oh what an abundant flame of heavenly hope would have been kindled in the hearts of desperate sinners, hadst thou remained in thy blessed estate! Oh what great rewards in the kingdom of Christ would have been laid up for thy soul against the day of judgment, if that crafty wolf had not caught thee, who of a wolf wast now become a lamb (not much against thine own will) out of the fold of our Lord, and made thee, of a lamb, a wolf like unto himself again." "And to be short, thy conversion to righteousness gave as much joy to heaven and earth, as now thy detestable return, like a dog to his vomit, breedeth grief and lamentation; which being done, 'the members which should

have been busily employed, as the armour of justice for the Lord, are now become the armour of iniquity for sin and the devil;' for now thou dost not listen to the praises of God sweetly sounded forth by the pleasant voices of God's soldiers, nor the instruments of ecclesiastical melody, but thy own praises (which are nothing) rung out after the fashion of the giddy rout of Bacchus by the mouths of thy villainous followers, accompanied with lies and malice to the utter destruction of thy neighbours; so that the vessel prepared for the service of God is now turned to a vessel of dirt, and what was once reputed worthy of heavenly honour, is now cast, as it deserves, into the bottomless pit of hell.

"Yet neither is thy sensual mind (which is overcome by the excess of thy follies) at all checked in its course by committing so many sins, but hot and prone (like a young colt that coveteth every pleasant pasture), runneth headlong forward, with irrecoverable fury, through the intended fields of crime, continually increasing the number of its transgressions. For the former marriage of thy first wife (although after thy violated vow of religion she was not lawfully thine, but only by right of the time she was with thee), was now despised by thee, and another woman, the wife of a man then living, and he no stranger, but thy own brother's son, enjoyed thy affections. Upon which occasion that stiff neck of thine (already laden with sins) is now burdened with two monstrous murders, the one of thy aforesaid nephew, the other, of her who once was thy wedded wife; and thou art now, from low to lower, and from bad to worse, bowed, bent, and sunk down into the lowest depth of sacrilege. Afterwards, also didst thou publicly marry the widow by whose deceit and suggestion such a heavy weight of

offences was undergone, and take her, lawfully, as the flattering tongues of thy parasites with false words pronounced it, but as we say, most wickedly, to be thine own in wedlock." "But warnings truly are not wanting thee, since thou hast had for thy instructor the most eloquent master of almost all Britain."

His character is at first represented as that of a fierce and successful warrior. He then devoted himself to religion, but returning to his original courses and the "giddy rout of Bacchus," "the vessel reputed worthy of heavenly honour" is "now cast into the bottomless pit of hell," while warnings against his lascivious courses were not wanting to him, "as he had for his instructor the most eloquent master of almost all Britain." This instructor is said to have been St. Iltutus,[1] the name of Gildas's own reputed instructor. His house, Ty Illtyd, is a dolmen in Brecknockshire, and near it is a pillar stone called Maen Illtyd. Near this, at Llanamllech,[2] the mare that carried his provisions, by a stag (*carw*), brought forth an animal, half stag, half horse, of wonderful swiftness. Eillti, in Gaelic, is a dog. St. Iltutus was a disciple of St. Germanus.

What does Mailcun's name import?

Mail is a bowl in Welsh, *cun* a leader, chief, in Celtic, generally signifying, according to Zeuss,[3] *summitas*, *cwn* in Welsh. Mailcun, the bowl of the summit. Maglocunus seems simply to resolve itself into *mac*, a son, possibly *mag*, a servant, and *clog* or *clag*, Welsh *clock*, a bell. *Mael* is a servant in Gaelic, the tonsured servant of a religious order, possibly from *maol*, Welsh *moel*, bald. *Gwn* is a bowl in

[1] Usher's *Primord.* quoted; *vide* Stephenson's Gildas, p. 46.
[2] Giraldus Cambrensis, *Itinerary*, c. ii.
[3] *Gram. Celt.* p. 7.

Welsh, and in Aremoric, Legonidec gives us *Mael* as an obsolete word for a soldier. Maelgwn = the soldier or servant of the bowl. And it is curious that the principal story, in the apocryphal life of Gildas, is his taking a wonderful bell which he had brought from Ireland to Rome, but which the Holy Father made him take back to Britain, which he did the more readily, we may believe, as it was *speechless* till put into the hands of the Bishop of Nantcarvan, the place originally granted by Caswallan and Maelgwn to St. Kentigern for his monastery, according to Joceline. *Nant*, a dingle, *carfen*, a cup, bowl (Spurrell).

Malgo, which I suppose to be the same name, seems subsequently to have become common in Wales, but in the times of which we speak it occurs in other places more nearly in the form in which it occurs in Nennius. Nennius himself tells us that A.D. 447, a hundred years before Mailcun, "in these days St. Patrick was a captive among the Scots, and his master's name was Milcho, to whom he was a swine-herd seven years."[1] Mailcon, says Skene, is the genitive form of Mailcu, and is the same name as Milchu. Miolcu, Irish *Milgi*, is a greyhound, and such is, I believe, the accepted meaning of the name.

When Columba went to Scotland, in the year 565, about the time ascribed to the reign of Maelgwn, Bede tells us it was in the "ninth year of Bridius, who was the son of Mailochon, and the powerful king of the Pictish nation." Ulster was the district in which the Scottish King lived who was Patrick's master, and I think there can be little doubt as to all the bearers of the name Maelgwn, Meilochon, Miolchu having been probably of Pictish origin.

The significance of the upright stones found so

[1] Nennius, para. 50.

plentifully in this and other countries has been a subject of much discussion, and it is evident that they have been erected for very various purposes. There can however be no doubt that a cone has long been a priapic symbol, in fact, from the earliest times of which we have any record, in the most ancient civilisations. Tacitus tells us[1] of the Paphian Venus that "the statue bears no resemblance to the human form; it is round throughout, broad at one end, and gradually tapering to a narrow span at the other, like a goal." It was a stone pinnacle. Like this, a conical stone represented Artemis, Diana, and others;[2] and the cone of Astarte, the Phoenician Venus, was represented as crowned.[3] The cone in the systems of Venus and Mithra was the emblem of the active principle of generation, that of Venus Mylitta being sprinkled with stars.[4] Gregory of Tours, writing in the end of the sixth century, testifies to there being worshippers of Venus in Gaul at that time, and most probably also in Britain.

There is undoubted evidence of the worship of Mithra in Britain, as in most of the other places to which the Romans carried their arms. To him, described as "deus est petra natus,"[5] were dedicated caves, grottoes, and springs, the grotto being "the image of the world as created by him"—being thus like the Round Table which was made by Merlin, "in token of the roundness of the world."[6] The mysteries of his worship were to be taught "by the ear alone," and washings, baptism, sacrifices, and communion formed a great part of the worship. The initiated votary was called a soldier of Mithra, and it is a

[1] *History*, B. ii. c. 3. [2] Lajard's *Venus*, p. 48. [3] *Ibid.* p. 64.
[4] Lajard's *Venus*, p. 69. [5] Lajard's *Mithra*, pp. 98, 567.
[6] Cox and Jones' *Popular Romances*, p. 77.

remarkable coincidence that in the earliest Christian Brito-Celtic stories, notably Adamnan's St. Columba, the favourite title of the Scotic priest was "Christi miles," a soldier of Christ.

In many of the Mithraic sculptures a patera, or water vessel, saucer, represents a spring, or the humid principle, the passive power of generation, placed in the grotto, the symbol of the created world. Of these grottoes, there was one in the Capitol at Rome, one has been found at Housesteads on the south wall, there seems to have been one at Leicester, said to have been called after Lear, who has a son of note in Welsh, Irish, and Scottish tradition called Mananan, or Manawyddan.

The date of the introduction of this cultus into the Roman Empire was at the time of Pompey's expedition against the Cicilian pirates, about 70 years B.C., shortly before the battle of Pharsalia. However much or little cause there may have been for the accusation of obscene practices in this cultus, there can be no doubt as to the principles it originally inculcated being of a moral and elevating character, specially teaching the observance of a strict chastity. Mithra, in the Roman cultus, was called "Deus invictus solis." Milesius, which I have already mentioned as a derivative of the Latin *miles*, a soldier, appears also as Gollamh, —the *mh* has somewhat the sound of a nasal *u*; and while the one name reminds us of the title of "soldier," used to denote what Freemasons call a degree in the Mithraic scale, Goulou, older Goulaou, signifying light in the Aremoric, seems to suggest a meaning for the other name of the Irish invader, connected with the unconquered sun-god. The Lugaid and Lug, of which we have already seen instances connected with the Milesians, and specially with the Tuatha de Danaans,

if we go to the Greek, may be connected with bright light, as λυκηγενὴς, light-producing; or simply with the Latin *lux*, light; while it signifies swift in Gaelic, *mythdra* in Welsh, signifying also swiftness! There is another curious fact which one may be allowed to believe shows a connection between things so remote from one another as the possible beliefs of our forefathers and the Parsee sun-worship. These distinguish between several heavens in which souls are put according to the relative merit of their conduct during life. That of the sun called Korschid-pae is the highest. In Welsh, a supreme seat, a throne, a court of justice is called Gorsedd, and Mithra was the power which judged the actions of souls, and rewarded them according to their merits; and again, *afrin*, which is, I understand, the Parsee word for an act of worship, closely resembles the Gaelic word *aifrinn* signifying the Mass. I must leave it to scholars to settle whether or not these are mere coincidences; as to the fact of a Mithraic worship having been common to both people there can be no doubt.

Now it is quite certain that, though Simon Breac, the Nemidean, gets the credit of having caught the celebrated Lia Fail on the fluke of his anchor, and the anchor is the symbol of life, it was the Tuatha de Danaans who took it with them to Ireland, and that must have been from Manand, as already stated. The most detailed notice of the Lia Fail occurs in the Baile an Scail, and is quoted at length in O'Curry's *Materials*.[1]

Shortly, it is this:—Conn, an Irish king, is walking with his Druids and poets when he puts his foot on a stone which sounded, "screamed," under his foot. Conn asks of his Druids the name of the stone, what

[1] P. 617.

its screaming meant, and where it came from. After fifty-three days, the Druids tell him that *Fal* is the name of the stone, that it came from the island of Foal, that it was in Temair (*i.e.* Tara) of the Island of Fal it was set up, and that in the land of Tailtin it shall abide for ever; and, among other things, that the number of screams was the number of kings of Conn's race that should succeed him. "As they were there after this they saw a great mist all round, so that they knew not where they went, from the greatness of the darkness which had come, and they heard the noise of a horseman approaching them." "It would be a great grief to us," said Conn, "if we should be carried into an unknown country." After this, the horseman let fly three throws (of a spear) at them, and the last throw came with greater velocity than the first throw. "It is the wounding of a king indeed," said the Druid, "who ever shoots at Conn in Temair." The horseman then desisted from the throwing, and came to them, and bade welcome to Conn, and he took them with him to his house. They went forward then till they entered a beautiful plain. "And they saw a kingly rath, and a golden tree at its door; and they saw a splendid house in it, under a roof-tree of Findruine; thirty feet was its length. They then went into the house, and they saw a young woman in the house with a golden diadem upon her head; a silver kieve with hoops of gold by her, and it full of red ale, a golden can on its edge, a golden cup at its mouth. They saw the Scal (poet) himself in the house before them in his king's seat. There was never found in Temair a man of his great size, nor of his comeliness, for the beauty of his form, the wonderfulness of his face. He spoke to them, and said to them, 'I am not a Scal indeed, and I reveal to thee part of my mystery and my

renown. It is after death I have come, and I am of the race of Adam. Lug, son of Edlenn, son of Tighernmas, is my name.'" They then proceed to toast his successors, the first of whom was Art, "a man of three shouts."

Conn is, I consider, simply the *gwn* of the Welsh, and it seems to appear in the Irish word *escon*, a water-bucket, given in O'Reilly as the equivalent of the word *escra*, the Gaelic of what is translated *can*, the golden can of the above legend.

Conn then stood on a stone, and sounds were emitted prophesying as to the kings who should come after him in Ireland.

In Welsh, *cloch* is a bell, represented by *clog* in Irish.

In Welsh, *clog* is a stone, represented by *cloch* in Irish.

In the Breton, *kloc'h* seems almost as if it represented an intermediate sound. The confounding of the different words most likely assisted in forming the belief that a stone made sounds. In Welsh, as in Aremoric, *maen* is the usual word for a stone, apparently the only one in the latter dialect, and it may be that the misconception has arisen in introducing the word signifying a bell, which I would fancy is a German word, into the Gaelic. This, however, is merely a guess. Beyond this point we have no further account of a stone in the story, unless indirectly in the allusions to the seat of the Scal, that is, of the bard who was not a bard, as he states himself, or to the golden-crowned young woman, who may have been a Paphian Venus.

It is, I think, probable that the Island of Foal is the Island of Man, some of the reasons for which I give subsequently (p. 96). O'Curry tells us[1] that Falga

[1] *Materials*, p. 588.

was, he believes, an old name for the Isle of Man, and its siege, of which there is an ancient account extant, was by the men of Ulster with Cuchulain as their leader.

If we might accept the word *foal* as Manx, it would translate literally at this day, the "Island of the wall," Innys voal. We find an island with a *wall* of fire in Highland story[1] connected with a "Knight of the Sword," and a "Knight of the Cairn," assisted by a "Son of Spring," whose father is a porter who carries his son over a river and sets him down in the chair that was at the king's shoulder.

The "ring of fire" is well known in Manx tradition, and we even find some existing evidence of what may have caused it to be said that the Isle of Man was so defended, if we may accept the statement that there are fortlets or beacon stations[2] similar to the strengths of the first peoples in Scotland and Ireland, so situated as to complete a chain from north to south.

We know that water was one of the symbols of generation, and was so employed both in Phallic and in Mithraic worship. The Phallus is often surrounded by a hollow containing water or a ring representing the female organ of generation; thus the expression "Island of Fal" might represent a Phallic emblem so situated. We are also told that bathing, in Mithraic as well as some obscene forms of worship, was a part of the ceremonial, and thus pouring water over the Lingum has been, and is, a symbolic act of worship. The word for bathing in Gaelic, *fal'*cadh, curiously enough seems to have a reference to this, and it is a part of the tradition of St. Fillan that he spent the first year of his life in a pool of water. Fonts and hollow basins

[1] Campbell, *Tales*, vol. ii. p. 441.
[2] Train, *Isle of Man*, vol. i. p. 274.

of a larger size than those to which the name font is usually applied, are common, especially in Ireland; we find them cut in stone on Innismurry off the coast of Sligo, and also in Senach's Island,[1] the latter is accompanied by a small incised cross; these may have been Christian, but there are others of a size more adapted for bathing to be found in localities certainly not Christian. In each of the three chambers in the interior of the mound at New Grange, in Ireland, Fergusson[2] tells us, stands a shallow stone basin of oval form, three feet three by three feet six or seven inches across, and six to nine inches deep. In the great tumulus on the Boyne is a basin much larger, being five feet by three; and in the Carn he calls "Cairn L" at Lough Crew, is also one of which he gives a drawing. These monuments are ascribed to the Tuatha de Danaans. The common name for the old fonts is *ballan*, and we find in Scotland an instance of a connection between an ancient bell and such a ballan. In the church at Inch, Kingussie, Inverness-shire, is an old bell, ascribed to St. Adamnan, and of the same make as St. Fillan's, and in the window sill on which the bell stands is cut a "ballan."[3] In Gaelic "the bell of the tub" might be written *clog bhallain*. The *bh* is equivalent in sound to the letter *v*, and this would make it *vallain*, *clog vallain* phonetically. There is no *v* in Gaelic, *f* taking its place; the name then would thus become *clog fallain*. *Bal* signifies, in Aremoric, a bucket, and is evidently connected with *bol* in Welsh, signifying also a paunch, but giving us in composition such words as *prenvol*,—theca lignea, says Zeuss; prenfol, a wooden box, says Spurrell.

[1] Lord Dunraven, vol. i. pp. 39, 47.
[2] *Rude Stone Monuments*, pp. 204, 208, 216.
[3] *Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1879-80, p. 108.

If one could apply the term "ballan" to such a thing as the bell of St. Fillan, it is noteworthy that in the Arthurian Romance, the Knight Balin, who has a brother Balan, who dies on the same day as himself, is called the "Knight of the Two Swords."[1] If the sword of the Scythian sword-worship of Herodotus was only one of the forms of worship assumed by the Hindu Linga,[2] so here the swords may be identical with the serpents of the handle of the sword of Arthur.

Bal in Welsh is a peak or prominence. *Eiry y fâl* = the snow of the peak.

Now we saw that Lug was the name of the Knight of the Lia Fail. *Louber* is old Welsh for *lleufer*, splendour, from *lou*, light, which is *lii*, colour—*splendor* in the Würzburg Codex.[3] *Lii y fâl*, then, might signify the *splendour of the pinnacle.* Theodore, Bishop of Mopsuestia, a Greek writer of the latter part of the fourth century, applies the term Αὐγὴ = splendour, to the supreme god of the Persians, *i.e.* Mithra,[4] and therefore I conclude that the idea of swiftness which appears as implied in the name Lug is a meaning secondary in this case to "brightness."

Lhiaght is used for a cave in the Manx Bible,[5] while *lhiack* is their form of *lia*, a large stone, also signifying a "mass of metal."

Fail is also translated a wreath in Irish, for which the Manx use the term *ballan*, and the connection of these terms with a priapic worship is made clear by what St. Augustine tells us, while declaiming against the open obscenities of the Roman festival of the Liberalia, at which an enormous phallus was carried on a

[1] *Popular Romances of the Middle Ages*, p. 9.
[2] *Aryan Mythology*, vol. ii. p. 311.
[3] *Grammatica Celtica*, p. 21.
[4] Lajard's *Venus*, p. 94.
[5] Genesis xxv. 9.
[6] Payne Knight, p. 129.

magnificent chariot into the middle of the public place of the town, where the most respectable matron advanced and hung a *wreath* of flowers on the obscene figure.

We have seen that it was in Temar (Tara) this wonderful stone was set up, and the place called "Island of Fail" is identified with Ireland, the land of "Tailtin" being the locality of those festivities instituted by the leader of the Tuatha de Danaans, called *Lug*haid, in honour of the queen of the last of the Firbolg, the Lughnasa or Lammas festivals.

But, to return to Conn and the Knight of the Lia Fail, whom we saw surrounded by mist. We have seen that the Mithraic grotto represented the world made by Mithra. In Gaelic *cé* is the world, *céide* a hillock, *cai* a house, *cae* an enclosure ; *kay* in Manx is mist, *ceo* in Gaelic.

In the *raths*, or enclosed circular forts, as they are believed to have been, as well as in the raised tumuli, we generally find underground chambers a frequent locality for Oghum inscriptions, having a great identity with the Etruscan souterrains, according to Brash. "These crypts are excavated within the area enclosed by the interior rampart, and consist of one or more chambers, sometimes circular or oval in plan, sometimes square or rectangular, connected together by low galleries."[1] The Irish peasantry refer these to pagan times, and believe them to be the residences of fairies, *sidhean*.

The darkness in which the Druids and Conn found themselves was one of those *mist*erious chambers. They hear a horseman approaching. If it be a fatal objection to my theories, it is nevertheless true that those chambers are not capable of containing a horse-

[1] Brash's *Ogham Monuments*, p. 103.

man as a rule; but the symbolic character of this part of the legend that alludes to a horseman will be subsequently considered. Now, the remark which Conn makes is somewhat strange. He does not say that he was in fear of his life, but that he should be "carried away to a strange land" by a single horseman, and several Druids and poets with him. We will see afterwards that he was supposed to have led rather a restless life, as his name, "Conn of a hundred fights," would indicate, though, with so much military experience, he might have been more sceptical of the powers of one man. The horseman makes three throws at him, and O'Curry, to explain this, interpolates "of a spear." The word *urchair* signifies a throw, a fling, a cast, it might be of a spear, an arrow, a stone; but in connection with the number three, we are told subsequently that Art, that is the same name as Arthur, the first king of Conn's line, was "a man of three shouts." The horseman "threw his tongue," and is thus supposed to have saluted Conn. They now enter the *rath*, it says, at the door of which was a golden tree. Is this what Lajard describes as on an Asiatic cylinder, "a bush of a conventional form, and of nine branches, called the *hom*, qualified as the tree of Life in the Zend Avesta,[1] and which has been mistaken "for rows of phalli"?[2] and the illustration certainly gives ample ground for the supposition. In the Ossianic Society's Publications, vol. iii. p. 213, we have a tale how Cormac, the son of Art, got "a glittering fairy branch with nine apples of red gold on it," in exchange for his wife, his son, and his daughter, from Mananan; and apples and the tree of Life have a connection otherwise which needs no recalling by quotation.

[1] Lajard's *Mithra*, p. 262. [2] Lajard's *Venus*, p. 67.

In this enclosure they find a house with a roof-tree (*carfan*, a ridge, beam; *carfen*, a bowl,—Welsh; vide *carw*, infra) of "bright" metal, *findruine* (*fin*, bright, *do rinneadh*, made?), and here were the bowls and ale for a banquet; *cae*, a feast, and the golden-crowned woman, and the Scal who revealed "part of his mystery." Now the Scal's name was *Lug* = *lugh*, swift; *mythdra* (Welsh), swiftness; the son of Edlend; *ead*, knowledge (O'Reilly); *lan*, full; in composition, perfection. The name Edlend is often written Ceithlenn (*kélen*, instruction, Aremoric) son of Tighermas, the beautiful Lord.

Lug says he is "of the race of Adam." Among ancient sects the Adamiani or Adamites proscribed marriage, and held that the most perfect innocence was consistent only with the community of women. They assembled naked in caverns for their conventicles.[1]

The story closes by informing us that the drinking vessels remained with Conn. Clearly so, as he was the vessel himself. To the best of my belief, this is simply a vague account of the initiation into mysteries either purely Mithraic, or partaking of a mixture of the Bacchic.

O'Reilly gives, as one of the names of Teamhar, Connailt = Conn's house. On the sculptured stones of Scotland a favourite subject is a stag-hunt. The worshippers of Mithra, on whom chastity and continence were inculcated as virtues, seem to have allegorised all their tenets, and so the stag was said to be an animal to be hunted down, as it was of a salacious nature, while the lion, as having but one mate, was an example of continence. Thus on Mithraic sculptures a stag is represented as being torn by a lion—*carw*, a stag in Welsh; *caru*, to love; *caru amare*, libidinose amare.

[1] Payne Knight, p. 172.

In the *Mabinogion*,[1] in the tale of the "Lady of the Fountain," Kynon describes having met a black man, who, with an iron club, struck a stag a great blow, so that it brayed vehemently, and divers sorts of animals in great multitudes, including serpents, dragons, and others, came and bowed their heads to him, and did obeisance to him, as vassals to their lord. The black striker was, I suppose, a "Maurus, not falsely called a Pict," and the stag was the equivalent of a Lia Fail. The Welsh word for *bray* is *dyrnawt*, and this is the same name (Diwrnach) as is applied in another Mabinogi to the keeper of the caldron, and steward, *maor*, of Odgar, son of Aed, king of Ireland. It is also, in all probability, the same as Diarmid, who ran away with Grainne (*grain*, loathing, reproach), the wife of Finn mac Cuil (bright son of the private place; *cuil*, a closet, a private place). The close resemblance of the Fingalian Diarmid to the bell of St. Fillan is very clear from the following:[2]—

There was a thing that they used to call *sugh seirc*, in the face of the man, and there was a helmet which he must not lift, because there was no woman that saw the *sugh seirc* that would not fall in love with him, and Diarmid knew that he had these powers. One day he was staying at home, expecting that no one would see him, he gave a lift to his helmet, and Graidne, the daughter of the king of the province of Ulster, saw Diarmid. She could not have the warm soul in her, but she would go with Diarmid. This mark, here called *sugh seirc*, is called commonly *ball seirc*.[3] *Sugh* means juice—it is also applied to juicy fruit, brambles; *ball* is a spot or mark—a limb, the membrum virile—*seirc*, is of love—that is, lascivious love.

[1] Vol. i. p. 47.

[2] Campbell's *Highland Tales*, vol. iii. p. 78.

[3] *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 39.

Grainne was daughter of Cormac, son of Art, son of Conn of the hundred fights.

In this case, we see the phallic head was kept covered. In Cymric tradition, the instructor of Arthur is called Uthyr Pendragon. He appears in the *Four Ancient Books of Wales.* "Madawq son of Uthyr, the joy of the wall,"[1] connects him with the wall in a marked manner. In his death-song, in which he is styled "Uthyr Pen," a poem which Skene believes to be only an imitation of Taliessin, he is called *Gorlassar*, translated "excessively azure." Davies has given us a translation of this in his *Celtic Research*, and I have taken his translation in preference to Skene's in the *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, because it seems to me generally more intelligible, and more in accordance with the deductions I had drawn from other Celtic traditions.[2] The text given in both cases does not, as far as I can see, differ essentially. The poem says of Uthyr—.

"Am not I a 'protecting prince' in darkness, to him who presents my form at both ends of the basket?" After recounting the instances of his warlike prowess, it says: "Did not I give to Henpen (the *ancient chief*) the tremendous sword of the enchanter? Did I not perform the rites of purification when Hearndor (iron door) moved with toil to the top of the hill? "The world had no existence were it not for my progeny." "My voice has recited the death-song, where the mound representing the world is constructed of stonework."

Uter in Latin signifies a bladder, a bottle or bag of leather—*uterus*, the womb. *Bolg-mergach*, in the Würzburg Codex=*uter rugatus*, a wrinkled leathern bottle.

[1] *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. i. p. 226.
[2] *Celtic Research*, vol. ii. p 559; *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. i. p. 297.

Οὖθαρ, in Greek—a teat, breast, fertility.

Lajard, quoting Pausanias, tells us that the young priestess of the rites of Aphrodite, who served for one year, was called "loutrophore," after the cup given by that goddess to Dionysos, so important was the part it played in the secret worship of Venus at Sicyone, in the Peloponnesus.

Λουτὴρ, washing-ewer, bath; λύθρον, pollution; λόνω, I wash the whole body. The priests of Cocytto were called Baptae, because they considered washing as a complete purification after all their lascivious rites. *Fal*cadh, bathing.

Bal is a bucket in Aremoric, *bal*, a peak in Welsh, *balok*, a bucket in Aremoric; *balog*, a protection pinnacle, in Welsh. The word Davies translates "protecting prince," is more correctly leader, guide, "Tywysog;" *tywysg* is a procession, and though at best the meaning is very obscure, "the thing that presents his form at both ends," that is something representing fertility, alludes to what is clearly of the same appearance as Fillan's Bell. The word *kawell*, translated basket, is I believe a false reading, and represents possibly a word obsolete now from *cafael*, to grasp, to hold. If this is so, I think Uthyr's identity is nearly certainly established. The Greek word ἑλένα, a basket, said by grammarians to have been written with a digamma, the Latin *F* is *F*ελένα, closely resembling the Scottish St. Fillan's name. Who can say that it is, or is not, from some Greek or Greek-tinctured source, the myth we are considering came? These baskets were used to carry the sacred utensils at the feast of the Brauronian Artemis—worshipped with human sacrifices—and a phallic goddess from her name Orthia.

By Ἑλένη (Helen) Paris is said to have had a son

Bunicus or Bunochus, a name like the word bun—bunnock before mentioned. Following the extracts from Davies, Henpen is, I suppose, Arthur who succeeded to the kingdom, Geoffrey of Monmouth tells us, by right of drawing a sword from a stone; *Ian*, a vessel, cup; also a sword-blade. *Hearndor* is here the sun. *Huan, Haul*, is the sun in Welsh, while the introducer of agriculture, and their first patriarch, according to the Triads, is Hu—the Hu mor, I have no doubt, of the Firbolg. In the worship of Mylitta and Mithra, the two "doors" for the ascent and descent of souls were the sun and moon. *Heulog* in Welsh is sunny; *Heulor*, half a door; *Heulorsaf*, the solstice. *Sidus* is a star in Latin, plural *sidera*. Σίδηρος is iron in Greek; and I take it there is some confusion between the iron door, and the door of the stars. It is certain that Iron-door climbing to the top of the hill alludes to the summer solstice, Midsummer's day—the feast of St. John—Ian, John.

The allusion to "progeny" I take to be phallic; but that allusion to his voice reciting "the death-song in the stone-constructed mound representing the world" is purely Mithraic, and seems a very likely allusion to a vessel capable of producing sound.

So much for his appearance in poetry, and we will find that Geoffrey of Monmouth's prose romance to a considerable extent supports the propositions above advanced.

Here Uthyr is called Pendragon—the dragon-headed. He is brother to the King, and his first undertaking is to bring over from Ireland the stones of Stonehenge, possessed of magic virtues, available to those who, washing these stones with water, washed themselves in the water so used. These were defended by Gillomanius (*gille* a servant, lad, *maen* a stone).

Him Uthyr defeats, and with the assistance of Merlin, the bard and enchanter, removes his prize to England. He afterwards becomes King, and sails round the Scots, which, in Geoffrey's day, meant Alban, and he dies from drinking the water of a favourite spring, which, to give probability to the story, Geoffrey says was poisoned by the Saxons. We have seen that if Uthyr was Conn before he was Uthyr, he had been accustomed to stronger potations than spring-water. It was on Uthyr's death that Arthur drew the sword from the stone. In this account we see how tradition retained in memory the bathing of the stones in water, and in the poetry we were told that these lustrations Uthyr himself performed.

Draig, Owen says, is a generative principle or procreation—a fiery serpent.[1] It is without doubt that serpents, and water animals, and the fabulous griffin, have represented for unknown ages the active principle of generation. Payne Knight gives an illustration from a sculptured monument found at Nîmes, of a griffin winged and footed, of which the body is a large phallus, while round the neck of this griffin are suspended two bells. This is not by any means the only phallus which takes this form, as it is exceedingly common, but it is the most striking evidence of what was the significance of this fabulous animal; and there can be little doubt that the expression used regarding the Mithraic ceremony at which "ostenderunt gryphos," and which took place in April, a month dedicated to Venus and Mithra, and during which initiation into the mysteries was most common,[2] meant the exhibition of those extraordinary symbols. Hence, I believe, the name Pendragon. It was for Uther that Merlin con-

[1] Davies, *Celtic Research*, vol. ii. p. 437.
[2] Lajard's *Mithra*, p. 396.

structed the "Round Table," at which a vacant place was left for the Sangreal.[1] Now Gildas calls Maglocunus the "Dragon of the island," and it is curious to find that, while he came from the Lothians, Manand, by descent, if we accept him and Mailcun as the same person, we find traditional evidence of a possible connection with the Isle of Man. This evidence almost entirely depends upon traditions of an unsatisfactory description, but can scarcely be passed over unnoticed.

In the Ossianic Society, vol. ii. page 39, we have a Latin interlinear note from the old tale "Ochtar Gaedhal" the eight Gael, which I quote in full.

"Gulinus was indeed Neptune, for Lir is the Irish or Phoenician name of Neptune, and the same as the sea; so Gullinus was the other name for Lir, the god of the sea, just as Tiobal was the goddess of the sea. For she appeared to Conchobar Mac Nessa, afterwards King of Ulster, in the form of a very beautiful woman, when by the decree of the oracle, whose name was *clochuir*, *i.e.* the stone of the sun, which at that time was very celebrated in these parts, he was going to Man, to a certain Gullinus, in order that he might give him druidical *buadha* for his shield and arms. Gullinus fashioned the image of Tiobal on his shield, and it had many *buadha*, according to the old Irish authors."

Conn, or, as he is here called, Conchobar, warned by an oracle, which is most likely *clog oir*, the yellow or golden bell, connected with the stone of the sun, gets from Man a shield, a protection, on which was fashioned this "Tiobal," which may be composed of *Dia* god, and *bal* the prominence, Venus; or *ball*, not unlikely the membrum virile. This possessed many magic powers, "buadha."

[1] *Popular Romances of Middle Ages*, p. 121.

Gulinus's name is evidently of the same signification with the first part of the name of the priapic Freyr's "Golden-bristled" boar Gulinbursti, while with the name Tiobal may be compared the Scotch word *theivil*, a stirring stick for porridge, etc.

Train[1] quotes a tradition how one Melinus or *Mac Lea* was a magician in the island in the time of St. Patrick, and, aspiring to the reputation of a god, did fly in the air, but came fluttering to the ground at St. Patrick's feet. He tells us further, that on the Pollock (Balog ?) rock, a small island at the mouth of Douglas harbour, was a "Pictish" (?) tower, delineated in Blaeu's map of the island published in 1658. In this island tradition said that the son of Boadicea was concealed after her death, when pursued by the Romans. "There is certainly a very strong secret apartment under ground in it, having no passage to it but by a hole covered by a large stone, and is called to this day the Great Man's Chamber."[2] Was this a Mithraicum ?

Whether the name Boadicea has anything to do with *buadha* of Conn's shield I shall not venture to say. There is, however, a custom, at least it was in the island till very lately, which connects the Dragon with Tiobal. *Dreadhain*, *Dreathan*, is a wren in Scottish Gaelic, which Nicolson, in his lately published *Proverbs*, spells *dreaghan*, while *dreagan* is a dragon. In the Isle of Man on St. Stephen's day (Steain Stephen who was stoned), they had a habit of hunting the wren, *drean* in Manx, which was supposed to represent a female fairy, possibly Tiobal. When killed, the unfortunate little sinner is carried round by the hunters, who sing the curious rhyme following :—

[1] *Isle of Man*, p. 321. [2] *Ibid.* p. 277.

We hunted the wren for Robbin the Bobbin,
We hunted the wren for *Jack* of the *Can*,
We hunted the wren for Robbin the Bobbin,
We hunted the wren for every one.

Boban is a name applied to a bell, thus the Boban or Bell of St. Caeimhghin (Kevin), was a principal relic of Ireland.[1]

This hunting the wren was also done in the south of Ireland, and in a town called Ciotal in the neighbourhood of Marseilles.[2]

The allusion to "Jack of the Can" is very remarkable.

In Aremoric the word *dréan*, the Manx wren, is a thorn, prickle, the *hammer* of a gun. This word is *draen* in Welsh.

It is said that Mananan protected the island by a magic mist, *kay*, mist, and the governing body of the Isle, which should and does assemble on the Tinwald Mounds, is called the House of Keys, anciently "Chor na faid,"[3] *côr*, a circle, (?) Welsh. *Faid*, a prophet, Gaelic.

In Irish tradition, Diarmid (see under) tells Grainne that when Finn was in Tara he had the *keys*,[4] *i.e.* he was doorkeeper, thus alluding to what is a prominent characteristic of Mithra himself.

I believe the island of which Maglocunus was the Dragon was, at least for a time, the Isle of Man.

We have here in the hunting of the wren touched on what seems connected with the stag-hunt also alluded to, and this recalls the great Cymro-Aremoric myth of the quest of the St. Greal. To which I think

[1] *Cambrensis Eversus*, vol. ii. p. 575.
[2] Train's *Isle of Man*, vol. ii. p. 124.
[3] *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 195.
[4] Ossianic Society, vol. iii. p. 59.

we have grounds for allying the story of the pursuit of Diarmid and Grainne.

The use of cups as divining vessels is very ancient, and is still a custom in some parts of the world. The evidences of the probability that besides the general question of the *lots*, some species of religious ceremonial partaking of divination was expressed by the three throws of the Scal, the three shouts of which Art was "*the* man," the drawing of the sword from the stone of Arthur, and generally by the screaming of the Lia Fail, is clear. This, however, comes out in a rather remarkable way in the story of Diarmid.

Eurmat, says Toland, = auspicium, that is a consulting of the auspices, a sign or token of success; and Legonidec gives *eurvad* from *eur*, luck, fortune, and *mad*, good. In the Fingalian and Cymric legends the playing of chess is a frequent occurrence. In the Ossianic Society's publication we have an account of Fingal and Ossian, the warrior and the bard of the myth, playing a game under a tree in which Diarmid and Grainne were concealed. When Diarmid threw down a berry to Ossian he would win the game.[2] This is clearly the "good luck" going with *Iarmad's* protégé.

Fithicholl is a chess-board in Gaelic, which has been derived from *fath*, skill, and *ciall*, sense (O'Reilly). The name is spelt *fithchell* in Cormac. *Fichella*, in Aremoric, is to stir the fire, to move the wood with the poker, and "to rummage about so as to put sense or judgment topsy-turvy," *ficha*, the root word, being to stir, to change position frequently. The Roman military method of casting lots in a helmet is mentioned by Caesar and others. The Gaelic for a helmet is *clogad*, and though it looks as if one were punning,

[1] Ossianic Society, vol. iii. p. 145.

it must be confessed that it has all the appearance of being composed of the words *clog* a bell, or *cloch* a stone, and *ad* a hat. Lots were cast by the chief magistrate, and it seems, according to the evidence, that Diarmad was in fact a vessel used for the casting of lots. In the Ossianic Society's publication, vol. iii. p. 175, Diarmid's dog is called Mac an Chuill, translated by the editors, "son of the hazel." In Rome was a college of priests, apparently twenty in number, who presided over all the ceremonies connected with the ratification of peace, or the formal declaration of war. These carried with them certain sacred herbs called Verbenae or Sagmina, considered indispensable in their rites, and their own flints for striking their victims. Their name was *Fetiales*, of which name, says Ramsay, the orthography and etymology are alike uncertain. Is it not possibly connected with *Ficha?* The other spelling Ramsay gives is *Feci*ales.[1] Their chief was called Pater Patratus, a name also applied to the chief dignity among the Roman worshippers of Mithra.[2]

Is there any evidence, in the appearance of St. Fillan's bell, that it was used for any such purposes as lot-casting or as a drinking-vessel? One dare scarcely expect that in the bell itself such could be looked for; and it certainly is an unmanageable cup, as it can only stand mouth downwards, which, we may remember, was the position of the *escra* of the Scal, which was "on its edge." But there is evidence against its primary use as a bell in the complete absence of an arrangement for holding a clapper, as originally made. There is at present a piece of iron, bent at right angles, and fastened into two holes drilled in the brass of the top of the bell; but this

[1] Ramsay, *Roman Antiquities*, p. 331. [2] Lajard's *Mithra*, p. 560.

shows no appearance of continuous usage, nor indeed would the character of the fastening permit of it. This bent iron must, I conclude, have been inserted in the bell while in the keeping of an English cateran, who forcibly annexed it at one time, but to the good feeling of whose heirs we owe its restoration to Scotland. We thus see how it was necessary for the black giant to whack his stag with a stick to make it bray; and this is also the reason why Finn mac Cuil, before making known the results of his cogitations, had to put his finger in his mouth.

One more tribe of the invaders of Britain according to Welsh traditions demand attention. These are called Coranied, and they came from the land of Pwyl, (pwll? a pool of water) in the time of Llud.

Coryn, a crowned head, says Spurrell.

Ptolemy gives Κορίνιον as the name of a city of the Boduni, or, as he calls them, Δοβούνοι.[1]

On the southern wall at Corbridge an inscription mentions a body of Roman horse called "Corionototarum,"[2]—κοριναῖος, illegitimately born.

It seems little wonder that a name should have been coined, having so many original words to choose from akin to some of the speculations already advocated. The fact of there being a town of the name Κορίνιον among the Boduni is certainly suggestive. But the tradition itself shows plainly enough the root word that was in the mind of its narrators.

The Coranied could hear every whisper, so that no steps could be agreed on for their expulsion; they caused a shriek over the country on May eve from which divers disastrous results to women and animals resulted; and they disposed of all provisions even gathered into the king's court that were not eaten on

[1] Quoted, *Giles*, vol. ii. p. 101. [2] Warburton, p. 155.

the first night.[1] Llud, doubtless our Irish Lug, by the advice of Llevelys (Lia fal?) constructs a brass horn to speak through, to prevent them hearing; but this is taken possession of by a demon, who, however, is washed out of the horn by putting wine in it. Further Llevelys gives Llud certain insects to bruise in water, and instructs him to call his own people and the Coraniaid together, and sprinkle them all with the water, which would poison the Coraniaid but not his own people.

Cor is a spider in Welsh; hence the baptismal water with the insects in it. *Corn* is a horn or anything projecting; hence the particular form of the brass implement of sound. The period of activity of the Coraniaid, May Eve, corresponds with the time at which the Tuatha de Danaans defeated the Firbolg. *Corran*, a reaping-hook in Gaelic, is an instrument which sometimes on Mithraic sculptures takes the place of the axe usually designed, which Lajard calls "l'oreille de cuivre," the copper ear; being shaped like a human ear. This seems to have some connection with the orally imparted instruction and the Coranian's power of hearing. *Cor* is a dwarf in Welsh; hence they are said to have been pigmies. *Coryn* is the crown of the head, and *coron* is a crown. I incline to the belief that it is another expression for the bright apex which becomes the *coire* or kettle of the Irish.

In the Triads the Coraniaid are mentioned as invading Britain before the Gwyddyl Fichti.[2]

The exact significance of the injunction to impart all knowledge by the ear seems to be something beyond the mere desire of preventing written records falling into wrong hands, and so betraying the mys-

[1] *Mabinogion*, vol. iii. p. 308.
[2] *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. i. p. 102.

teries; especially when this injunction is connected with the worship of the generative powers.

The word Priapus itself seems derived from *βριάπυος*,[1] clamorous, loud, and was applied to Mars as in ancient battles they engaged with loud noise. The name Ogmius of the Gaulish Hercules is derived from the verb *οἴγω*, the preterite passive of which is *ὦγμαι*, which is derived from *οἴ* with which one exclaims *οιγε*, in order that a gate may be opened to him. For the earth cries out *οἴγεται* to the ploughman in making a furrow. Hence Ceres has the name *ἡ ἐπιόγμιος*.[2] Ogmius chained his followers by their ears to his tongue. His words were his arrows, *βέλη* (Belenus? the Beli Maur of the Welsh legends). Further, he was *ἄνθρωπος φάλλος*, a bald man.

On the base of a curious Indian idol preserved at Moscow in the Imperial University, representing symbolically the powers of generation, is a small figure with its hand to its ear listening intently.[3] It is clear, then, that sound has always been associated with reproduction, and the bell seems to have been adopted as the special representation of this sound, for to a majority of the phalli figured by Payne Knight a bell or several bells are attached. It is then almost a certainty that if to symbols of which the phallus was the main object bells were joined, to a bell specially employed in this worship there would be attached a phallus or phalli. Thus it is in the case of the bell of St. Fillan. That such a superstition had at one time a powerful hold on the inhabitants of Manand is proved not only from the probabilities of the significance of the names of the inhabitants and their traditions, but also from an entry in the Book of Lanercost which proves

[1] Payne Knight.
[2] Damm's *Greek Lexicon*, *οἴγω*.
[3] Lajard's *Venus*, Pl. 14, B.

the existence there of phallic worship in the year 1282 A.D., and, moreover, connects it with the Easter festival, showing the relation it bore to the Teutonic Ostara.

In that year and during the Easter week (29th March to April 5th), John, a parish priest of Inverkeithing, performed the rites of Priapus, "by collecting the young girls of the town, and making them dance round the figure of the god; without any regard for the sex of the worshippers, he carried a wooden image of the male member of generation before them in the dance, and himself dancing with them, he accompanied their songs with music in accordance." He was cited before the bishop, defended himself upon the *common usage of the country,* and was allowed to retain his benefice. From some such curious observance as this, there can be little doubt the *Scottic* clergy derived their traditions as to the proper time for the celebration of Easter, of the dispute about which with the Church of Rome Bede gives us so much information.

The widespread connection between phalli and the use of a bell appears in Lucian's account of the priest who at Hierapolis, in Syria, climbed once annually to the top of a thirty cubit high phallus, and there prayed by name for the individual worshippers, ringing a bell as he did so. And here also we notice how the phallus became a large "column," giving a hint as to a connection between this worship, and the name of a well-known Scottish saint hereafter to be alluded to.[1]

So far I have sketched the traditions which are not specially ecclesiastical; but I now propose to show that the Christian Church adopted the stories connected with this worship, and the relics thereof, not only in the case of St. Fillan, whose Church exploits, though covering a good deal of ground, are not

[1] *Mythology of Aryan Nations,* vol. ii. p. 372.

very specific; but in the case of some who have been adopted as national Saints. I mean St. Patrick, St. David, St. Mungo, and St. Columba, and that they actually interwove the stories circling round this priapic relic into the story already alluded to of the Saint Greal, which in the fancy of its narrators was the cup used at the last supper, or the vessel in which Christ's blood was collected when wounded with the spear.[1] Baring Gould tells us that in French they give the name *gradal* or *graal* to a large and rather deep vessel in which rich meats with their gravy are served to the wealthy. In modern French, *grelot* is a little bell. The word *graal* or *gradal* is allied apparently to the word *griddle*, a baking-iron; *grelot* apparently with *grêle*, hail; *grêlon*, a large hailstone; *trembler le grêlon*, to shake till one's teeth chatter; and so a *grelot* is a hollow metal vessel in which a ball of metal is contained to make the sound. In the name itself there is as much probability of its proper application being to a bell as to a frying-pan, and in support of this we may note, that when assistance was wanted in the temple in which the Greal was kept, a bell, untouched by human hands, sounded and summoned the knight on duty, who had instantly to attend. But let us consider shortly the Brabant (or, as one might say, Tungrian) version of the story of the Grail.[2] The hero is called Elias, or Helias Grail. Helias is ἥλιος, the sun, and his title of Knight of the Swan is a misconception for the Knight of the Sun, *eala* being a swan in Gaelic; and as I conclude the tale has been filtered through the Celtic, this may (?) account for the mistake, though *Héol*, the sun in Aremoric, is not unlike ἥλιος. It may be that *éal*, an

[1] Baring Gould's *Myths of Middle Ages*, vol. ii. p. 351.
[2] *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 327.

angel, a purely spiritual being (Aremoric), has been personified in the white and graceful bird, from a knowledge of the Celtic name applied to the swan. He was called also Carl Ynach, and is son of the King of Tongres in some versions. The sequence of the story is somewhat as follows:—The knight goes in search of a cup which had been made from a chain; he marries a noble wife, but because he is asked his lineage, he has to leave her and his family, and is borne away from them in a little vessel by a swan. He marries Julius Caesar's daughter, but is himself killed fighting with Ariovistus against his imperial father-in-law. Caesar's daughter, thus set free, marries a descendant of Hector of Troy, and had a son, Octavian, who became King of Coeln, that is, of Cologne.

Ynach is evidently the Evn, a bird, of the Aremoric, where it is also pronounced *ein* and *e-un*, the exact counterpart of the Gaelic *eun*, *ian*, which connects it with *ian*, a cup. He is son of the King of Tongres. We have seen that one of the two chiefs of the Tungrians who surrendered to the Roman arms under Cerealis was Campanus,—and Campana, whatever its origin, is a Latin word for a bell. The slur on his lineage evidently connects him with a race who might be termed σκότιοι, and he died at last fighting the Romans, though so intimately connected with Julius Caesar. His widow, in marrying the descendant of Hector, may have married a Briton; undoubtedly the son of this alliance, Octavian, is a connection of our Dam Hoctor, or *damh ochtor*, the company of eight; and we shall find a King Coel Hen, if not "of Coeln," in Cumbria. Did the Tungri of Agricola bring this legend with them to Britain, or did it return from Britain to Tongres in Brabant?

The Greal was used to contain blood, the blood of

our "living sacrifice!" Strabo thus relates the manner in which the Cimbrian women performed their divinations:[1]—"The women who follow the Cimbri to war are accompanied by grey-haired prophetesses, in white vestments, with canvas mantles fastened by clasps, a brazen girdle and naked feet. These go with drawn swords through the camp, and striking down those of the prisoners that they meet, drag them to a brazen kettle holding about thirty amphorae. This has a kind of stage above it, ascending on which, the priestess cuts the throat of the victim, and from the manner in which the blood flows into the vessel judges of the future event."

What they should want with a *kettle* (!) containing about 110 gallons is difficult to say. Strabo says the throat of the victim is cut after he has already been cut down. St. Fillan's bell does not hold more than a gallon, I should think, but still quite capacious enough for the purpose, or for a similar purpose, viz., to hold the blood from the cut throat of a wounded man; and, as a sheer supposition, I should opine it to be a great deal better adapted to the purpose than the vat of Strabo. Is it possible that before being used to shake up the lots in, this or some such vessel had been in use in such savage auspices? When we are told that the Greal gave oracles, which appeared on the surface of the bowl and then disappeared, it does not seem impossible.[2]

The benefits derived by those who beheld the Greal included a mysterious joy, a foretaste of heaven. A sight of this Greal sufficed in place of food. It supplied its devotees with the meat and drink most to their

[1] B. vii. Quoted, Bohn's translation of Tacitus's *Manners of the Germans*, p. 297.

[2] Baring Gould, vol. ii. p. 343.

taste. On the day it was seen the beholder was incapable of suffering hurt. The power of conferring such benefits it shared with "the bucket of Ceridwen," by some called Ceres of Wales; and with the kettle of Mananan, of the Dagda, and of Eoghan Buidhe (*eo*, an ear, a pin or point; *buidhe*, yellow,—(*Iewan* is a scream in Welsh)—yellow screamer, though, as *buidhe* is not Welsh, this is scarcely allowable), a king of Dunstaffnage in Argyll, from whence our early chroniclers brought the "stone of Destiny" to Scone.[1] Fordun tells us that the Picts and Scots were firm friends till a Pict stole a valuable dog from the Scots, about the time of Carausius.[2] *Cu* in Gaelic is a dog, genitive plural *con* (O'Reilly), a word which seems to have become obsolete, or to have been used by some speaking a dialect of Gaelic for a bowl. And, curiously, in the account in Cormac's *Glossary* of a settlement of Irish in Britain, and which Skene thinks is the only trace of such a thing happening before the time of Fergus mac Erc in the older authorities, we are told that Cairpre Musc, one of the sons of *Con*aire Mor, brought a *lap-dog* from the East into Britain.

Cairpre, καρά, head; *Cerber*us, καρά, φέρω, the head-bearer. *Mws*, "a thing which shoots out;" Welsh, *musc*. *Measan* is a lap-dog (Gaelic), also *meas*, a dish; *measan*, a little dish. Cerberus was the dog of Orcus or Dis, the god from whom, according to Caesar, all the Gauls asserted they were descended,[3] while Orcus reminds us of the Pictish settlements in the Orcades. Cerberos is a name having reference to the voice of the monster. Hesiod calls him χαλκεόφωνον, brazen-voiced. Dimetia, or South Wales, the country of Caswallan, and of the Liethali, consequently, was

[1] Wyld's *Catalogue of Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 528.
[2] Fordun, B. ii. c. 37.
[3] *Commentaries*, B. vi. c. 18.

so "addicted to mystical rites that it was called Bro yr Hûd, the land of mystery; *hud*, illusion, charm, and was said to be enveloped in a veil of concealment—Llengel."[1] This is the same tradition as protected the Isle of Man with a magical mist.[2] Now it was in this district of Bro yr Hûd that an old legend in the Welsh Laws[3] locates the accession of Maelgwn to the throne.

After the taking of the sceptre of London from the Cymri, and their being driven out of Lloegyr (England not including Wales), they instituted an inquiry at Aber Dyvi as to who should be the supreme ruler, and Maeldaf, the elder, placed a chair composed of wax wings under Maelgwn; so when the tide flowed no one was able to remain except Maelgwn, because of his chair, and thus he became supreme king.

Dyfed is another title of Dimetia; Aber Dyvi is the mouth of the river of that name, Teifi, flowing into Cardigan Bay. Skene argues from this ceremony occurring in this locality, that when the line of Dyfi is mentioned in connection with the kings of Wales, it alludes to the descendants of Maelgwn. Διφύης signifies twofold, and so are the phalli on the bell handle.

Now we are told that a Saint Dewi had removed the archiepiscopal seat from Caerleon to Mynyw, *i.e.* Menevia, which was afterwards called from him Ty Dewi, or David's house.[4] This David, like Maelgwn, was a descendant of Cunetha. As *koun* means dogs (Aremoric), and *aot* or *aod*, the shore, the descendants of Cunetha might mean the shore dogs; and it was on the sea-shore Maelgwn came to his sovereignty.

[1] Davies, vol. ii. p. 417.
[2] MS. Record in Castle Rushen. Quoted, Train's *Isle of Man*, vol. i. p. 39.
[3] Quoted, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. i. p. 63.
[4] *Vide* Bohn's *Giraldus Cambrensis*, p. 415.

St. Patrick is said to have served a certain Cutraighe; *cu* a dog, *traighe* the shore,—the Scotch family name, Guthrie(?). And it seems there "were many cothraighi to whom he served four of a village"[1] during his years of slavery. Now Geoffrey of Monmouth tells us that St. Patrick was the founder of St. David's; and in the *Mabinogion* we are informed[2] that when Arthur carried off the caldron of Diwrnach Wyddel (Diarmait the Gael), it was landed at port Kerddin in Dyfed—Cardigan, I suppose, at the mouth of the Teifi.

Now, what further information have we about the personage who, by his "waxed wings," made Maelgwn remain where the tide flowed? *Traigh*, in Scottish Gaelic, is to empty, pour out. Under the title of Lord of Penardd (*pen*, head, *ardd*, ploughed land, epiogmios?) he appears as giving a judgment on a question of precedence among the Cymri after Maelgwn's death;[3] and Skene thinks he was an ecclesiastic. The whole story has to me entirely the appearance of a question of the casting of lots, and the use of the wax to make the winning lot "remain" is evident enough.

Mael is a tonsured servant of a religious order, etc.; *dof*, a utensil, a useful thing (Welsh).

In the Saint Dewi—to whom the church legends have given some of the attributes of Hu,[4] the traditional introducer of agriculture, and whose name is evidently part of the word *hud*, mystery, *huan* the sun,—his name is not different from the word *Tewi*, to keep silence, which was certainly an attribute of the Scal balbh, king of Pictland and Manand, mentioned in the *Book of Ballymote*, and already alluded

[1] Zeuss, p. 20, quoting Hymn of St. Patrick.
[2] Vol. ii. p. 307.
[3] *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. i. p. 174.
[4] Davies, vol. ii. p. 141.

to. This name, David, is not unlike *Dabhach*, a tub, vat, in Gaelic. In fact, the pronunciation Davoch is a pet name for David in Lowland Scotch, a connection alluded to subsequently.

Hu with whom he is associated is said to have drawn "the avanc" from the lake. The question what this avanc is has never had yet a reasonable solution. It is supposed to have meant "a beaver," and is apparently the same word as is applied in Scotch Gaelic to a terrier, *abhag*, abh*ach* in O'Reilly. Now a terrier in Welsh is called *tir-ysgrif*, *ysgraf*= what scratches off; in fact, an earth-scratcher; and in France the term griffon is applied not only to the traditional griffin—which is the idea generally entertained as to the animal drawn from the waters by Hu, —but also to a terrier.

It is clear then that originally Hu, the sun, the agriculturist, who caused by his earth-scratching, and under the influence of water, fertilisation and increase, is delineated, and that in the mystic representation of this, some such phallic griffin as before alluded to was used, and that in course of time the symbol, and what it was supposed to symbolise, have been confounded.

Now we remember that St. Fillan also was taken from a pool of water, and I think that if Hu's "avanc" has a remaining representative, we may find it in Fillan's bell, which I have tried to prove was most likely used as a vessel for the casting of lots. We have seen that it was in Dyfed that Diwrnach's caldron landed when brought to Britain from Ireland, and we find a trace of Dewi in Ireland. In a note by Michael O'Clery, the chief of the Four Masters, written in the Martyrology of Donegall,[1] he

[1] O'Curry, *Materials*, p. 593.

mentions "the town of the ford of the cast in Cinel Fiachaidh, where is temple David, where the brain of Mesgedhra was struck upon Conchobhar, king of Ulster." This other *Conn*, as his name is usually spelt, was the son of Nessa, a lady left a widow in the prime of her youth and beauty, who agreed to marry Fergus, king of Ulster, on condition that Conn, her son by the first marriage, should have the kingdom for a year. At the end of the year, so pleased were the Ultonians, it was finally agreed that Conn should retain the kingdom, and Fergus the lady. Of course, to call a man after his mother may sound as if it were quite correct in Pictish, but so far as our records go, instances of such a thing are almost unknown. *Macnas* is wantonness, sport; *macnas*ach—a title not at all suitable for a king—signifies libidinous, merry, and it was this Conn who originated the order of the Knights of the Red Branch, which O'Curry says should be royal, against all evidence.

In his time the king of Naas, the locality of the Lughnassa, the games instituted in remembrance of the king of Spain's daughter—otherwise said to be daughter of Rory (*ruodh ri*, red king) king of Britain, and wife of Lughaidh, son of the Scal Balbh[1]—by Lug, the Tuatha de Danaan, was called Mesgedhra,[2] sounded nearly as written by the Ossianic Society, Mesgera (*meas*, *mias*, a dish, *misgeoir*, a drunkard). The king of Ulster had a poet called Aithirne (our father?), who seeing that the pasturage for his sheep was better on Mesgedhra's side of the Liffey than on his own side, sent them over to graze on it. The Leinster king stood up for his own rights, and in vindication thereof slew an Ultonian champion sent by Conn to assist his poet in his depredations.

[1] Ossianic Society, vol. v. p. 167.

[2] O'Curry, *Materials*, p. 268.

But in Ireland, in those ancient days, as we are gravely told by authorities such as Professor O'Curry, poetry and poets were so highly honoured that no king could refuse to grant to a bard any gratification he might ask for a poem recited, even though, as some that have been preserved show, it were despicable rubbish; and thus we have stories of poets asking for the most impossible gifts which it was the king's duty to provide.

Now, after this, the poet Aithirne visited all the Irish kings, and among them Mesgedhra, from whom in return for his poem he got, among other things, 700 white cows with red ears, and 150 noble women of Leinster to be slaves to the Ultonians. But this demand was, as one may well suppose, beyond endurance, and though the poet's body was sacred while on his own territory, Mesgedhra pursued him with the intention of killing him on his getting into Ulster, but was himself slain by Conall Cearnach, sent by Conn for Aithirne's protection. We are next informed that when a warrior slew an antagonist of note, he took out his brains and made them into a stone with lime, to retain them as a trophy. When lime is mixed "with brains," it certainly does in many cases resemble a stone, but the addition of lime to the corporeal contents of a man's skull will not make a stone, or anything like a stone. Now it seems, setting aside the chemical difficulty, that when the Ulster-men "were in contention or at trophies,"[1] they sent for the heads of their enemies, and that when they had them in their hands they became satisfied.

The fact of the matter, however, is, that they settled their disputes by lot, and the whole manufacture of brain-stones is to account for this *conn* or *gwn*

[1] O'Curry, *Materials*, p. 639.

having had a stone in it, because Conn had become a man, and not a vessel.

The name Conchobhar is composed of *con*, and *cobhair*, aid, help, support; *cobhartach*, a helper, a prey or booty; and so this vessel was used as a help in the distribution of the trophies or booty.

Now there was a certain Cet, son of Maghach, *mágh*, a plain, *mághach*, the Lowlander, *mag*, a paw, *mághach*, of or belonging to the hand (O'Reilly), who was the greatest pest in Ireland,[1] went into Ulster on an adventure, and found two fools playing on the green at Emania with Mesgedhra's stonified brain which Conall Cearnach had prepared according to the rules of science, and which was looked upon as a most precious trophy at all "contentions." Knowing that the late King of Naas had prophesied that he would avenge himself on the Ulster-men, Ket took their plaything from the fools, and carried it about with him ready for use. He then lifted a prey of cows from South Ulster, and being pursued took an opportunity to sling the stone at Conn. It struck him, and two-thirds of it sank into his head. And this happened, as we saw, at the place where the temple of David was in subsequent times, because the story is told as if it happened before, or rather at the very beginning of our era, and in a place called, at that time, the wood Da Bheath[2] (of the two animals). Now the phallus was an emblem of life; *beatha*, a snake, is called *beather*, from *beath* and *hir*, long; and we know it was the serpent that tempted Eve—David Defi; Διφύης, twofold.

There can, I think, be little doubt that the evidence is in favour of the view that Da Véth (as Da Bheath is pronounced) and David represent the same thing;

[1] O'Curry, *Materials*, p 640. [2] *Ibid.* p. 277.

and so St. David is connected with the children of Bethoun or Vethan who had Dimetia, *i.e.* Dyfed. As to the Gaelic Dai for David, we will consider further on.

When Conn fell, he offered his sovereignty to any one who would carry him home. Cennberraidhe, his servant, lifted him, and took him on his back, but the exertion was so great that on their arrival the servant's heart burst, and he died. Therefore, says the veracious and critical historian, it was said that Cennberraidhe's sovereignty lasted as long as he had Conn on his back. The servant's name means simply "shaven head," and he was thus *maol*, bald, a tonsured servant, Conn of Conn, or the bowl, Maolchon = Maelgwn in Welsh. And so we understand how much depended on the possession of this precious relic.

Conn's physician, Fingen, informed him that he could cure him; but there would be a blemish, as one can well believe, since the stone had to remain in his head, because he would die if it were taken out. He then stitched up the wound with gold thread, because Conn's hair was *yellow*. His physician further laid down a series of rules for his guidance, not unlike such as might have been advocated as a rule of life for a priest in a rude age, and which kept Conn evidently very much in one place.

Time passes on, when, one day, a miraculous darkness astonished the world, and Conn inquired of his druid the cause and significance of it. The druid explained that Christ was at that moment being crucified, and explaining who he was, Conn was converted, and believed. We are then told that he and Moran, whose name is the same as that of the great man, Boadicea's son, who was concealed in the chamber in the Pollock rock, and whose name is possibly con-

nected with *mur*, the wall, and *maor*, an officer, were the two first Christians in Ireland. Thus far on the authority of the Book of Leinster; but Keating gives further particulars. I quote from O'Curry: Conn was seized with furious rage at being unable to assist his suffering Saviour, and rushing out in madness, began hacking down the trees in a wood with his sword, doing to them as he would have done, had he been able, to the Jews. But the stone falling from his head, Conn, as it had been foretold by his physician, died. The name of the grove cut down was Lamhraighe, which, derived from *lamh*, a hand, and *raighe*, frenzy, makes it receive a name after its destruction; while *labhraidh*, speaking, connects it with the *leac labhar*, and the oracular nomination of Art, and the descendants of Conn of the hundred fights.

This of course is a Christian legend, and the death of Conn, on the coming of Christ, by his separation from the stone, seems to convey by parable the change of use of the bowl or bell from a Pagan to a Christian rite; while its having been the head of the "drunkard" of Naas would signify that it was a Bacchic or Orphic ceremonial in which it had been at first used; and the Lughnasa were probably Mithraic, and correspond to the Leontica (*llew*, a lion, Welsh), which were celebrated during the period when the sun, passing through the sign of the zodiac Leo, shed his greatest heat, that is, in the end of July and commencement of August,—Lughnasa in fact signifying August in Gaelic. There is in this an evidence that the worship of Mithra, if I am right in my hypothesis, was not derived directly from Rome, because, as Lajard informs us,[1] the Romans celebrated their Leontica in March or April.

[1] *Mithra*, p. 574.

In this story we have seen a certain Ked or Cet, son of Maghach, make his appearance as carrying off Mesgedhra's head from Ulster, and this Cet is the name of the first inscriber of Ogam memorials in Ireland under the name of *Cet cuimnigh*,[1] *cuimhne*, protection, remembrance (O'Reilly). Cet mac Maghach was also the forefather of Goll mac Morna, the great enemy and ally of Finn mac Cuil. He was head of the Fenians of Connacht, and his name implies stranger, son of the *wall?* Cet was son of Cairbre, red head. This will not admit of a more minute explanation. (See "Cairpre," p. 119.)

Now Ked appears also at a much later date on the other side of St. George's Channel.

Bishop Forbes, in his *Lives of Saints Ninian and Kentigern*, quotes from the *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, a document of the twelfth century, which tells how a certain Kedicus Draws seu de Ludis, having struck Malgon, King of Dyganwy's son, on the head with a drinking-horn, fled to Kentigern for refuge. This is certainly the same story as the last, but it is placed five and a half centuries later than the Irish one.

Malgon sends a body of horse after him, but their chargers being struck by blindness they return. Then Malgon himself goes, but being struck blind is led into the presence of the saint. Kentigern restores his sight, and the king finds himself face to face with Ked. The offender claims the protection of sanctuary, which Malgon apparently allows, and further, in gratitude for his restoration to sight, presents the monastery with many grants, including one place called Dol*wynan*, the field (?) of the fountain, one of the bounds of this field being Pen isaf gell Esgob, the lowest head of the dun (coloured) bishop. Compare

[1] O'Curry, quoted by Brash, *Ogham Monuments*, p. 45.

Wynan, the fountain, with Fingen, the name of Conn's physician, and the connection apparently alluding to baptism is evident.

In Aremoric Kedez or Keded is the equinox, *Kedez meurs*, the equinox of March, *Kedez gwengôlo*, the equinox of September. To Venus and Mithra a particular place was assigned at the vernal and autumnal equinox, a time reported favourable for the descent and ascension of souls.

Kedicus is called Drws or de Ludis. The de Ludis (of the games) is direct evidence of his connection with such festivals as the Lughnasa. *Drws* is a door, recalling the Iarndor of the solstice. Now the souls were said to descend to earth by the sign of Cancer, and to return to the heavens by the sign of Capricorn. These were called respectively the gate of the moon or the gate of men, and the gate of the sun or the gate of gods. Mithra was the judge, as already said, of the actions of men, and according to his judgment was the entrance opened to them of the particular abode of bliss to which their conduct entitled them.

Now in the town of Vienne in the department of Isère, in France, was found a Leonto-cephalic Mithra, holding a key in each hand,[1] while at Chesters on the south wall, anciently called Cilurnum, was found a stone, on the one side of which was a lion standing over a human figure, and sculptured on the other a male figure holding a key.[2]

These attributes of the key and the door were peculiar, says Lajard, to the Roman Mithraic cultus;[3] and it is clear enough where the Christian fabulist got his Kedicus Drws.

[1] Lajard, *Mithra*, p. 589.
[2] Warburton's *Roman Wall*, p. 49.
[3] *Mithra*, pp. 459, 460, 462.

Ked's connection with mysteries appears in a song of the bard Cuhelyn who speaks of "the awful enjoyment of the society of Ked,"[1] and with a stone, where in the Triads one of the mighty labours of the Island of Britain is said to have been the erecting of the stone of Ketti.[2]

His connection with "Lludd the great" appears in the following extract from the song of Lludd as given by Davies:[3]—

"Let the truth be ascribed to Menwyd, the dragon chief of the world, he formed the curvatures of Kŷd, which passed the dale of grievous waters, having the forepart stored with corn, and mounted aloft with the connected serpents."

The "cibno ked," according to Davies, is the same as the "pair Ceridwen," the bucket of the muse (Ceres, the woman Ceres, from Ceres and *bean*, a woman?). *Ciried*, beneficence, *maen*, a stone, *men*, *certwyn*, a wagon, and if Maen Ketti is the Stone of Beneficence,[4] it is surely the same as the Llech Labhar of Dyfed.

Ced is favour, gift, relief, *cetog*, a satchel or bag, *ceten*, or, as Davies spells it, *ketten*, a small chest or cabinet. *Cyd* is junction, coupling; hence the "connected serpents."

Now, who is "Menwyd the dragon chief?" *Menw* in Welsh is intellect, mind, and as Menwyd had something to do with *ketten*, a small chest, we find that *menestr* is a cup-bearer (Welsh), while in Gaelic *menstir* was the box for the consecrated bread.[5]

But *Menw=Mengw*, was the instructor in magic of Uthyr Pendragon,[6] who was the son of "three loud calls;" and we found that Art also, son of Conn, was

[1] Davies, *Celtic Research*, vol. ii. p. 8.
[2] *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 160. [3] *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 568. [4] *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 403.
[5] *Book of Armagh*, quoted in Notes to Adamnan's *Columba*, p. 238.
[6] *Mabinogion*, vol. ii. p. 332. *Celtic Research*, vol. i. p. 161.

the man of three shouts; and we have seen Kedicus or Cet taking refuge with a Christian saint from Mailgwn, the servant of the bowl, the name of the saint being Kentigern, or, as it was called more vulgarly, *Mungo*. Let us see who this Mungo was and whence he came.

The earliest records extant of this saint are contained in Bishop Forbes's book, *St. Ninian and St. Kentigern.*

The older of the two is a fragment written before 1164; the other is complete, and is the work of Joceline, a monk of Furness, written most probably about twenty-five years later.

In the first we are told that *Leu*donus, whence Leudonia, the country over which he ruled in northern Britain, a half pagan, had a daughter named Thaney (Joceline calls her Taneu), who had a lover Ewen "of a most noble stock of the Britains," and also, according to the "Gestes of the Histories" son of the king of Ulien. Ulien is Ulster, Leudonia is Lothian. The king Leudonius (Ludd, Lew, Lug, etc.) ordered his daughter Tanau to marry Ewen or become a swine-herd.

Tan, Tanau,—Welsh
Tan, Taniou,—Aremoric } fire, fires.

Tanao in Aremoric also signifies slim and *bright*, *tana* in Gaelic, and this I believe to be the proper derivation of the word. Now this swine-herding undoubtedly arises from a confusion between the words *magus*, a priest, *mug*, a servant, and *muc*, a pig; and it seems certain that the alternative supposed to have been offered the girl,—I say "supposed," because I do not believe there ever existed such individuals—was marriage or a religious life. Taneu prefers service with the swineherd, who treated her chastely and

kindly; a circumstance explained in the legend by saying he was secretly a Christian. Ewen, however, taking opportunity, forced the girl, and she was to be hurled from a rock, in fact actually was so (according to the other versions she was to be stoned), but was miraculously sustained; and was finally exposed in an open boat, which, driven by wind and tide, stranded on the coast of Fife, where she was delivered, and the child adopted by St. Servanus. This Servanus or Serf, or Sair (*cervus*, a stag), had a festival observed in his honour, on the 1st of July, at Culross. His miracles include restoring a man's *pig* to life, changing water to wine, defeating the devil in a cave at Dysart, and slaying a dragon in a cave at Dunning in Perthshire.

He is said to have been a disciple of Palladius, who, Nennius tells us, was sent during St. Patrick's captivity in Ireland to convert the Scots. "But tempests and signs from God prevented his landing, for no one can arrive in any country except it be allowed from above; altering, therefore, his course from Ireland, he came to Britain and died in the land of the Picts."[1] Bede gives us the same information. Παλλάδιον, the statue of Minerva, came to imply a charm for security or protection, and Palladius is, I opine, but the same word with a masculine termination, and is in fact another term for what appears as St. Servanus. The traditions about both are very fully given by Forbes in his *Calendars of Scottish Saints*. The meaning of Mungo's names has evidently been a difficulty, as we are told by Joceline that he was called Munghu, meaning "karissimus Amicus," Kyentyern, which is by interpretation the capital Lord, and that Servanus exclaimed at his birth "Mochoche," which means "Care

[1] Nennius, para. 50.

mi." The expression "Dear me," whatever its exact derivation, does not seem worthy of so careful a record, and needed no attention were it not that *mòch* in Welsh is ready, swift, equivalent to the Irish *lugh*, *moch* also signifying swine. *Ken*, in Aremoric, in composition, is beautiful; *tiern* is a lord; *kentiern* the beautiful lord. Now Edlen, father of Lug of the Lia Fail, was son of Tighernmas, compounded of *tighern*, a lord, and *mais*, sparkling, brilliancy (O'Reilly), *maise*, beauty, Tighernmais, the beautiful lord. We have some particulars of Tighernmas.

He was the first who introduced the worship of idols[1] into Ireland, and he worshipped the Crom Cruach (*bent bloody* one) at Magh Sleacht, the field of obeisance, in Brefne, on Samhuin, *i.e.* Hallow E'en, a priapic festival to this day (see Burns's *Poems*). The Books of Leacan and Ballymote tell us it was in his reign that clothes were first dyed purple, blue and green, and that at that time the number of colours to be worn by the different ranks of the people was first prescribed.[2] Tighernmas had the same fancy for coloured clothes as the Canninefates, and the followers of Carausius and Allectus, and the Picts; and Kentigern certainly hails from Pictish ground. Now Munghu—the other name of Kentigern—may mean "dearest friend," or it may be derivable from *mwyn*, mild, and *gu* or *cu*, dear, but it is the same name as Mengw, the instructor of Uthyr Pendragon; and as Mengw was son of Teirgwaedd (*tair*, three, as in *teir*ddaleuog, three leaved, and *gwaedd*, a shout), so was our Mungo son of Ewen, Iewan, a scream. Of course Kentigern may mean simply the "head of the lord," as the "summit or chief of Belinus" is the translation of the name Cunobelinus; and indeed we find that the setting up

[1] Ossianic Society, vol. iv. p. 65. [2] *Ibid.* vol. v. p. 207.

of heads of great men was considered a protection to various districts of Britain in which they were set up. Thus *Eoghan Bel's* head, being turned towards Ulster when buried, gave the Connacht men victory over the Ulster men till they found out the reason and disinterring him buried him face down.[1] Bran's head was ordered to be buried in the White Mount near London, and as long as it remained there no invasion of Britain happened.[2]

A brief glance at the "Gestes" of Mungo as given by Joceline will, I think, tend strongly to confirm my proposition that Mungo, as Christian saint and bishop, is entirely fabulous.

Servanus made it the task of his disciples, each in turn for a week, to attend to the lights, and keep a fire burning constantly. During Mungo's turn of duty, to spite him, his co-disciples extinguished all the fires so that he could not get a light.

Thus we see the maintenance of a continual fire was a duty in the worship of Servanus. Mungo's mother's name means, as we have seen, *fires*. By prayer, however, fire was given him from heaven in a green hazel branch. *Collen* is hazel, in Welsh; *Kélen* is instruction, doctrine, in the allied Aremoric. He got his instruction in a branch of a fruit-tree. Lug mac Ceithlen, sounded *ceilen*, was the knight of the Lia Fail.

In Brittany, when a young woman refused a man in marriage, she presented him with a branch of hazel —*Kelvez*.

Mungo's next miracle is the restoring of its *head* to a *red*-breast, which his fellow-disciples had torn off in their play.

[1] *Annals of the Four Masters*, A.D. 538.
[2] *Mabinogion*, vol. iii. pp. 124, 128.

He next resuscitates Servanus's dead cook.

Caldrons play a great part in these stories, and are often connected with cooking.

Fionn, Fingal, got his wisdom, according to some accounts, by accidentally putting his finger into his mouth, having burnt it with the steam issuing from a caldron in which he was cooking a salmon. In the *Hanes Taliesin of the Mabinogion*,[1] Gwion bach (Little Fion), robs Ceridwen of the caldron, of the knowledge she was going to impart to Avagddu, her ugly son, by the same inadvertent licking of his finger while watching the cooking of the magic-pot, a few drops from the steam having scalded it. In the Reay country, that of the Mac *Kays*,—the same story is told of Fearchar Leigh,[2] Farquhar the Leech, who being engaged to cook a *white snake* in a pot with hazel-sticks (see the Aremoric connection between hazel-sticks and marriage and instruction), scalding his finger with the steam, acquired by the act of cooling it in his mouth, miraculous knowledge as a physician. There is another curious tale connecting another branch of the Clan Kay with a miraculous cure, performed in this case by a Bethoun of Mull, as the story goes,—the name being the same as that of the children of Bethoun, Vethan, and Liethali, in South Wales. Miss Mackay of Kilmahumaig, Knapdale, being ill, the great Mull doctor was sent for; arriving at the residence of his patient with the messenger, the following conversation took place between them :—

"S' binn an guth cinn sin" ars 'n gilleadh
"S' binn" ars' an t' olladh "air uachdar Losguin."

[1] Skene thinks this story was invented about the year 1590.—*Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. i. p. 193. If so, it is clearly a *rechauffé* of other tales of which we have many traces as above.

[2] Campbell's *West Highland Tales*, vol. ii. p. 363.

"Sweet is that head's voice," said the lad;
"Sweet," said the doctor, "above a toad."

This is clearly a sort of proverbial saying, which has had the story attached to it for explanation.

For *losguin*, a frog, read *leacan* a slab. The battle of the Clans on the Inch of Perth was fought on the one side by the Clan Kay, to whom Wyntoun, in his *Chronicle*, gives the name of "Clachinyhe" (*clach*, a stone), though by the Clan who possibly bear the name, it is in all cases pronounced as if *clagan*, a skull, a bell.[1]

The lady had swallowed a toad called Lon Craois (store, provision of the mouth), which was tempted to jump out of her mouth by the doctor roasting a sheep beside her.[2]

This cooking has, I conclude, to do with the offerings of corn to the divinity who presided over growth and reproduction. Thus we have Cai in the Welsh romances appearing as Arthur's "pantler," while Bedwyr was his butler. I quote here a passage from Davies, giving his translation of their appellations as they appear in the Triads:—

"The three diademed chiefs of the Island of Britain, the first was Huail vicegerent of Hu, the son of Caw (the *enclosure*), also called Gwair (*renovation*), the son of Gwestyl (the *great tempest*). The second was Cai (*association?*), the son of Cynyn Cov (the *origin* of *memorial*), surnamed Cainvarvog (with the *splendid beard*), and the third was Trystan, son of Tallwch.

"And Bedwyr, the son of Pedrog (Phallus, the son of the quadrangle), wore his diadem as presiding over the three."

[1] This is the name which commentators have called the "Clan Yha."
[2] Campbell's *West Highland Tales*, vol. ii. p. 366.

Cai was here the son of memorial, and presided over by this *bod—gwr*, a man.

Servanus's cook, as the above clearly indicates, was an altar of offerings of wheat, etc.

Mungo next leaves his master against the will of Servanus, who followed, and tried to get him to return; but this was prevented by a stream running between them, and Mungo succeeds as bishop, apparently a certain Fregus, whose funeral he conducted, placing his body on a wain (*men*, a wain, *maen*, a stone), drawn by two oxen which stopped at Cathures, now Glasgu, Glasgow.

Fregus is Fergus, and is evidently the same Fergus whom Conn mac Nessa succeeded, the Fergus of the Bod Fergus at Tara.

Now as regards the use of oxen, let us compare a passage from the *Gwynvardd Brecheiniog*, who, Davies tells us, wrote in the twelfth century :[1]—

> The two oxen of Dewi, two of distinguished honour,
> Put their necks under the car of the lofty one;
> The two oxen of Dewi majestic were they.
> With equal pace they moved to the festival.
> When they hastened in conducting the sacred boon to Glascwm (the *green valley*),
> The three dignified ones were not sluggish.
> The amiable *Bangu* was left behind bearing his chain,
> And the two others with their huge bulk arrived in Brechinia.

We shall see immediately that Mungo goes on to Dewi after a stay at Glasgow. Is the progress of the car here described at all dissimilar from that of the German goddess described by Tacitus in his *Manners of the Germans*, c. 40?

After mentioning the Langobardi (is this Cainvarvog "of the splendid beard" of the Triads?) and

[1] *Celtic Research*, vol. ii. p. 141.

other German nations, Tacitus says: "They unite in the worship of Hertha, or Mother Earth; and suppose her to interfere in the affairs of men, and to visit the different nations. In an island of the ocean stands a sacred and unviolated grove, in which is a consecrated chariot, covered with a veil, which the priest alone is permitted to touch. He becomes conscious of the entrance of the goddess into this secret recess; and with profound veneration attends the vehicle which is drawn by yoked cows. At this season all is joy, and every place which the goddess deigns to visit is a scene of festivity. No wars are undertaken; arms are untouched, and every hostile weapon is shut up. Peace abroad and at home are then only known; then only loved: till at length the same priest reconducts the goddess, satiated with mortal intercourse, to her temple." The chariot with its curtain, and if we may believe it, the goddess herself, then undergo ablution in a secret lake. "This office is performed by slaves, whom the same lake instantly swallows up. Hence proceeds a mysterious horror; and a holy ignorance of what that can be, which is beheld only by those about to perish. This part of the Suevian nation extends to the most remote recesses of Germany."

The chariot covered with the veil may be the *men*, wain, hence *maen*, the stone; *cuddlen* is a veil in Welsh, (*cudd*, obscurity, *llen* a veil); compare Ceithlen, the father of Lug (dd = th). The goddess who entered the chariot, whatever she may have been, was not a statue, it being conceived unworthy of the grandeur of celestial beings to represent their deities under a human similitude;[1] and Tacitus further tells us that "they affix names of divinity to that secret power, which they behold with the eye of adoration alone,"

[1] Tacitus, *Manners of the Germans*, c. 9.

while they carried "with them to battle certain images and standards taken from the sacred groves."[1] There is nothing at all against such a vessel as St. Fillan's bell having been used in such a progression, and while the oxen of Dewi moved to the festival, it was also a time of festivity while the German goddess made her progress. Has not the mysterious "avanc" drawn from the lake something to do with the chariot being taken from its ablutions, and it was the oxen of Hu that drew it?

Our historian next gives us particulars as to Mungo's habits.

He wore a goat-skin coat. He abstained from flesh and blood, and wine except on special occasions. He lay on a stone, and fighting that dragon, "that according to the prophet lieth in the midst of his rivers," he stripped himself naked and plunged into the rapid and cold water, and emerging from the water whiter than snow, he sat himself down on a hill called Gulath (Gwylledd, darkness, in Welsh.) Did he retire under his veil? He used to withdraw himself from men and dwelt in caverns, when he lived on roots of herbs, returning for a long time before Maundy Thursday, (*i.e.* the day before Good Friday), and after that on the Saturday before Palm Sunday (*i.e.* the Sunday before Easter), when he would wash the feet of *lepers*. This seems to point to a ceremonial at the heathen Ostara festival, and the change of period from the day before Friday to Saturday has possibly some relation to the story which I fail to perceive, unless it be a change of ceremonial. Ostara was a goddess of Light,[2] and in her honour were lighted the Osterfeuern, the Easter fires. The connection with Mungo's mother, Tanau =fires, is striking.

[1] Tacitus, *Manners of the Germans*, c. 7.
[2] Grimm's *Deutsche Mythologie*, vol. iii. p. 91.

Mungo was beautiful to look upon, which agrees with the derivation of Kentigern above given.

He miraculously used stags for ploughing, and caused corn to grow. He transferred King Morken's barns full of corn to his own dwelling, a flood floating them over for him, reminding one of the song of Lludd the Great, when "Kyd passed the dale of grievous waters, having the forepart stored with corn."

As was natural after such an appropriation, the king was not very friendly with Mungo, and one day, incited thereto by a warrior called Cathen, kicks the saint. Morken dies of a disease of his feet which became hereditary in his family.

Now this disease of the feet occurs in the West Highland Tales of the Ceatharnach. In this the Bodach, *old fellow* (note the *bod; ach* is a termination of adjectives, riabh*ach*, striped, maise*ach*, beautiful, *bodach* is a common word for a black bottle), *ic* Ceochd, the son of *misty* (Ceo, *mist*, kay, *mist*, Manx), otherwise called Rob, *any animal which roots up the earth with its snout* (O'Reilly),[1] Mac Sheoic, the son of *Jock*, *ic* a Lagain, son of the den, Lagan (*Lagen*, Aremoric, a loch), *claguin*, of a *flagon*, the Jock of the Can already mentioned, is cured of a disease of his feet by Gille an Leigh, the servant of the Leech, or it may be of Lea the stone, and became as swift as he was before, which connects him with Lugh, swift, of the Lia Fail.

In consequence of the annoyance of his enemies,

[1] *Rab*domantia in Greek is the divination by rods, which were marked as were apparently the German and Welsh *lots*, a term possibly rendered by the name of the seafaring portion of the Batavii, called Canninefates, from *κάννα*, a reed, and *φάτις*, saying, an oracle, from *φήμι*, I speak. It is, however, apparent that the form Cannenufates given by Ainsworth seems best explained by *κάννη*, acc. *κάννην*, a reed, pipe, canoe, and *ὑφάω*, *texo*, I weave, secondarily, make, build, *i.e.* boat-builders of reeds or wands.

Mungo had to leave Glasgow, and goes to Dewi, the holy bishop, where he makes acquaintance with Caswallan, and gets the grant of Nantcharvan, in the neighbourhood of which he founds his monastery, and there receives Kedicus Drws and Maelgwn. But that he may not be without a connection with pigs, we are told he was guided to the proper spot for his monastery by a white boar, which turned up the place with his snout. This boar's name possibly was Rob. It is curious that the "boar" was the badge of the XXth Legion long stationed at Deva, now Chester. The monastery flourishing greatly, he, being sent for by Ridderch Hael now ruling in Cumbria, who had himself been baptized by St. Patrick, left Llanelwy under the care of St. Asaph (ἀσαφὴς, obscure, uncertain), and returned to Glasgow, where the king made him in his office of Bishop supreme over himself.

Now the Queen of Riderch Hael (*ri*, king, *derg*, red, *hael*, liberal), falling in love with a young soldier, gave him a ring, *fal*, with a precious gem, *Liag*, *leac*, in it, which had been specially intrusted to her by the king. He, seeing this ring on the soldier's hand one day, removed it while he slept, threw it into the Clyde, and, awaking the sleeper, ordered him home, the incident occurring during a hunting excursion. Riderch, returning himself, demands the ring from the queen, who sends to the soldier for it, who answers that it is lost, and then escapes and leaves the queen to be cast into prison to await punishment. In her sore straits she sends to Kentigern, and tells him the whole story. He instructs the queen's messenger to cast a hook into the river, by which catching a salmon he recovers the ring, the fish having swallowed it. The precious jewel being given back to the king, peace was restored,

the queen, and even the soldier, being again received into favour.

Thus we see the Lia Fail itself commemorated in the ring and salmon of the coat of arms of the city of Glasgow.

We have seen already how a salmon in a curious way gave his knowledge to Fionn; we here see the Lia Fail in a salmon, and in the Mabinogi called Hanes Taliesin, *i.e.* the story of Taliesin, whose name being interpreted means "radiant front," we are told that when a child the great poet was found wrapt in a leather bag (*bolg*) in the sea, caught in a salmon weir.

In the Isle of Man, the parish name of the district off the coast of which is the Pollock (*bolg?*) rock in which Boadicea's son was concealed, is called Kirk Braddan, and *braddan* is the Gaelic for a salmon. In Kirkbraddan there are an ancient *tinnvaal*, as Kelly (*voce* Baaltinn) in his Manx Dictionary spells Tynwald, a Kile Abban, which he makes Ammon, and other remains of a pagan cultus. It is, however, clear that the Pollock rock was the locality where Taliesin was found; and of course, if this story—the Hanes Taliesin—is an invention of the end of the 16th century, the writer of it had a very intimate acquaintance with ancient legend, for it clearly points to his identification of Taliesin with the son of Boadicea, though he curiously enough does not mention the connection. And further, Maelgwn, the Dragon of the Island, is doubtless Taliesin of the Pollock Rock, and Mungo of Glasgow to boot.

To this the Glasgow arms themselves bear witness in conjunction with the next passage in Mungo's life.

Riderch is visited by an Irish bard, who, as was

their custom, asking an impossibility, desires a dish of mulberries, it being then after Christmas. (Μορέα, mulberries, in Welsh *mwyar*, *mair*, recalling the word *maer*, Irish *maor*, an officer, or *mur*, the wall). Kentigern, however, procures these miraculously, and the bard, renouncing his former life, gives himself up to the service of God.

Now in Irish *mul* is a bell, and, to show its connection with an elevated point, *mull* is a promontory (the *Mull* of Cantyre), etc., and the Gaelic name for the Gallovidian clan of the Bells is Mac gille'm Mhuil, the son of the servant of the Bell.

This *mul*-berry we identify with the bell in the tree of the Glasgow arms, which is not otherwise mentioned in the legend, and with the *bard* who left his previous evil ways and became a servant of God.

We next hear of an interview between Mungo and Columba, where Columba is said to have described Kentigern as crowned with "a fiery pillar, in fashion like a golden crown."

During Columba's visit two of his followers steal a ram of Kentigern's, and cut off its head. The ram rushes back bleating to the flock, but the head, turning into a stone, stuck to the hands of the marauders. Has this ram's head anything to do with Kill Ammon in Kirkbraddan? We may hazard the conjecture that Columba's marauding on-hangers were somewhat in the position of Edward Longshanks, when he marched off to England with the precious lump of red sandstone on which our Sovereigns have been so carefully crowned, and which is seriously believed by some to be the stone Jacob rested on, and to have been brought to Britain by Jeremiah or one of the prophets. Joceline tells us the ram's head "remains to this day," and as Edward's invasion was a century later, unless some

other claimant appears, I think the Westminster stone is the ram's head turned into stone. As regards the sticking of their hands to this stonified head, we find in the story of the Ceatharnach already quoted, a similar incident; he also causes certain people to stick to things not only with their hands, but with the breech. *Llafr* is breech in Welsh, *Llafren*, a large-buttocked woman; hence *Llech Llafr*, the stone of the breech, and thus it became a chair and a royal throne.

Finally, Kentigern perceiving that "from many cracks in it, the ruin of his earthly house was imminent," had his mouth tied up with a linen bandage; and in like fashion we saw Conn mac Nessa before his death with his head sewed up, though in his case gold thread was used. There is a very long and remarkable crack in St. Fillan's bell, which local tradition said was caused by a soldier firing at it as it was flying over his head. This was Ked mac Maghach, I suppose, having changed his sling for a more modern weapon.

Whether there ever existed a Christian instructor of the Cumbrians or not, called Mungo, the biography of St. Mungo is merely an attempt to mould into form traditions having their origin in pagan observances of our ancestors, so as to be useful for the purposes of magnifying the Church; or it may be that, age having obscured their origin, these traditions were embodied into a consistent narrative by conscientious believers in their authenticity as connected with an early Christian teacher.

And the same may be said of those parts of the story of St. Patrick which, in connection with the above, point to the conclusion that some of the incidents in his life, still accepted as historical, are not

incidents in the life of a man, but traditions having their origin in quite different circumstances, used, according to the method of the early Roman Church, to retain for itself places and names already held in reverence, while the absurd wish to pose as of as great age as possible further increased their desire to give circumstantial support to their claims by adopting ancient local traditions as the basis of their narratives.

I have no doubt that St. Patrick's slavery with Milchu, which is most probably the same name as Maelgwn and Meilochon, and his occupation during that time as a swine-herd, clearly betray his connection with the Lia Fail and the so-called Tuatha de Danaans, while this is supported by an entry in the Book of Ballymote, which talks of the "grave of Esclam britheman of the Dagda, which is called Patrick's grave at this day."[1] Here Patrick appears as the judge or brehon, as I believe, from the use of sortilege in settling disputes. of the Tagta (chosen one?); *clamh* is a leper according to O'Reilly, and if such a word were used in the Welsh or Aremoric, *Ys clamh* would be "the leper."

Now Patrick is said to have gone to Ireland on a flat stone; or, otherwise, that going to Ireland he gave a passage to a leper desirous of going to that country, by throwing him a flat stone on which the leper sailed across, and, we are told, landed at the same time as Patrick himself.

This story is absolutely too absurd not to have had some origin in history otherwise than in the incidents of a man's life; and accordingly we find that this stone and Patrick and Finn mac Cuil are connected with each other, showing clearly the identity of origin of these two so very dissimilar characters.

[1] Petrie's *Round Towers*, p. 102.

In a vellum manuscript in Trinity College, Dublin, headed,[1] "Finn the grandson of Baiscne composed (*this*), foretelling of Patrick, when he slipped off the flag on which he afterwards came to Ireland," is a poem, the commencement of which is as follows:—

"It is not through a path of crime my foot has come,
For of strength I am not bereft,
But it is the stone of a Fenian King which the stone rejects,
(says the gloss of the original, which is "But a stone rejects a Fenian King"),
A flag which represents a chaste man with the dignities of the Holy Spirit.
It will not bear God-grieving fleshy Fenian bodies," etc.

The poem is, as translated, sufficiently confused, and the old glosses written to explain it do not elucidate it much. The locality mentioned is "Corc's city," Cathair Cuircc, and Patrick is called "Cotraighe" (see *Cothraighe*, p. 120). O'Curry says of this in a note: "It is quite clear there are two stones, or rather a stone and a rock, referred to in this curious ancient piece, that is, if we believe the heading to be correct, either in its form, or with my presumed correction." O'Curry proposes to correct it thus: "Finn the grandson of Baiscne composed (*this*), foretelling of Patrick when he (Finn) slipped off the flagstone upon which (the leper) came afterwards to Ireland."[2] Let us continue with the note: "One of these was an altar stone, that upon which either Patrick or the leper came to Ireland, and the other the celebrated rock of Cashel, which to this day is called *Carraig Phatraic* or Patrick's Rock, but which was also anciently called *Leac Phatraic*, or Patrick's flag-stone. It is alluded to in a popular oath under that name."

Corc, the name of the city, means a brewing-pan,

[1] O'Curry's *Materials*, p. 622.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 393.

a knife, a whistle (O'Reilly), and we thus find ourselves again face to face with a caldron, a blade, and an instrument of sound; therefore, though of course *cathair Cuircc* may mean the seat of Corc, a man's name, it may mean the seat of any of these instruments. O'Curry is quite contented to believe that either Patrick or a leper was floated over to Ireland on a stone, and to such as can believe this, it is quite unnecessary to address the argument of probabilities; but to others I suggest that the mistake here is not between two stones, but between *clach* and *clag*, a stone and a bell; and the rejection of the Fenian king is either a true incident, which is impossible, or an expression of the change from its original purpose of the thing here called Cotraighe, said to be Patrick, but quite as certainly Finn mac Cuil, and, as I believe, the Palladium of the Scots. I may mention that the Corc who founded the city, supposed to be Cashel, was mac *Lugh*ach, the son of Lugh, with another adverbial termination.

As far as I know, no one has ever before reduced Mungo or Patrick to the humble position of a bell or a brewing-pan; but the immense importance of the former instrument to Patrick has long been acknowledged, even in the days of Ossian :—

> "Is there (*says Oisin*) among the Clerics of Patrick
> Any who can inform me
> What are the religious powers
> By which ye expelled the demons.
> Segadius (*Patrick*), the Bishop who was not weak,
> Said, I will tell thee how it came to pass,
> The bell by which we were freed from bondage
> Had effect by the powers conceded to Patrick."[1]

That is to say, the bell was the instrument that freed them from the bondage to devils, and secured

[1] Ossianic Society, vol. i. p. 101.

for Patrick his powers. Are they not at least co-ordinate? This bell was sent to Patrick from heaven, falling at his feet on the Reek of Croagh Patrick, and Patrick is said, having difficulty in converting these evil spirits, to have driven them into the sea, and to have pitched his bell after them.[1] As Connacht was the place from which the Firbolg were driven out of Ireland, and as this drowning of the demons, and the throwing of the bell after them happened in Connacht also, I conclude these are accounts of the same occurrences.

This bell was not like ordinary bells, but was a sort of gong which was struck by a mallet or some such instrument, and the first stroke on it caused the growth of cereals.[2] Thus we find it had to do with reproduction, and the growth of *cruithneach*, wheat, or should it be Cruithneich, Picts?

Now Patrick, though blessed with bells from heaven, had a manufacturer of croziers, crosses, shrines, and bells, one of his most favourite companions, who attended him on his death-bed, and is thus commemorated in the Festology of Angus, a composition supposed to date from the eighth century:—

> "The kingly Bishop Tassach
> Who administered on his arrival
> The body of Christ—the truly powerful king—
> And the communion to St. Patrick."[3]

The "communion" and "the body of Christ the truly powerful king" are of course the same thing, and the word translated "truly powerful," *fir-bailc* is not unlike *firbuilc*, which might be the genitive of *firbolg*, and the word for communion is not unlike a word signifying a dish, though it must be admitted the

[1] Fergusson's *Rude Stone Monuments*, p. 227.
[2] Ossianic Society, vol. i. p. 104. [3] O'Curry's *Materials*, p. 368.

using of these words would not make sense in translating the stanza.

But who is Tassach? Tascia and Tascio is a frequent inscription on the earliest British coins, being an abbreviation for Tasciovanus. He is by some believed to have been the father of Cunobelinus (cun gwn? Bellinus, the Belgic divinity Beli), who with Tasciovanus divides the claim for priority in coining money in Britain, many samples of coins so inscribed being extant. On the reverse of some of Tasciovanus's coins is the word Sego, probably representing Segontum the Caer Seiont of the Welsh, near Carnarvon, where is Caer Seint on the river of that name. Tasach is Tasciovanus, and that Segadius, one of the names of Patrick, is from Sego, Segodius, there can be little doubt.

Is the word "tassie," a cup, used by Burns, a possible remanent of this name? "*Cuno*belinus" also savours of the bowl.

Finally, St. Patrick in his invocation specially prays to be delivered from "the spells of women, smiths and Druids."[1] Why? Is it because he was of a material likely to be destroyed if he got into the hands of the smiths, and because his pig-driving days had been spent with the Druids?

St. Patrick's day is close to the March equinox, the connection with which and Mithraic worship has been already pointed out.

In St. Fiacc's hymn, we are told that cold did not keep Patrick from "spending nights in pools;" "he slept on a bare stone, and a wet robe about him: a *pillar*-stone was his pillow."[2] The word translated robe—*cuilche*—is not unlike *cuil*, a private place, *ce*, night, darkness? and it is quite clear that this must have been nearer the truth, for no mere man could

[1] *Goidelica*, p. 152. [2] *Ibid.* Stokes, pp. 127, 131.

have slept habitually "packed," as the hydropaths call it, in a wet garment, and lived to preach for sixty years to the "pagans of the Fein."

I think those coincidences do not increase the likelihood of St. Patrick being at all historical.

Nennius tells us that Patrick before he was baptized was called Maun. Has not this a suggestion of *Mannan* in it? *Mann* (Irish) signifies wheat, food, bread, God, the bountiful giver. Ahriman, the Zendic devil, was specially distinguished as Angiô Mainyus, the opposite of Speuto-Mainyus, the spirit of light. In the Hindoo traditions Manu is the measurer or thinker, called son of Dyaus or Brahma, as the Germans called Manus, son of Tuisto, who "sprang from the earth." This Indian Manu entered the ark at the time of the flood, which allies him directly with Mannanan Mac y Lir, and Minos, the father of Deukalion.[1] The name is also that of a Phoenician god,[2] and in all its significations carries with it the idea of light and reproduction.

If Patrick is at least partly fabulous, and St. David, and Caswallan, Mungo and Ridderch Hael, and Maelgwn, quite as much so, is it not as probable that Columba and his Aidan are equally fabulous? That they are so we shall proceed to prove.

St. Columba's life written by Adamnan, said to have been the ninth abbot of the monastery of Iona founded by Columba, has been handed down to us from a remote period, there being a manuscript extant believed to be of the eighth century; and there certainly are internal evidences which indicate a great age in the narrative.

Adamnan is said to have succeeded to the monas-

[1] *Mythology of the Aryan Nations*, vol. ii. pp. 355, 87, 307, vol. i. pp. 414-415.
[2] Lajard's *Mithra*, p. 265.

tery within a year of Columba's death. His name in Gaelic is Eonan, and Eunan, Eonann, i, ian, poculum, a cup,[1] also *ian*, a bird, John, etc.—Ianus, the sun-god of the Italians, was two-faced like the handle of St. Fillan's bell (Janita (γενετὴρ) of the Rig Veda).[2] Evidence of Adamnan's existence is mythical. He gives us the following particulars of Columba's family history :—

"There was a man of venerable life and blessed memory, the father and founder of monasteries, having the same name as Jonah the prophet, for though its sound is different in the three different languages, yet its signification is the same in all; what in Hebrew is Iona, in the Greek language is called περιστερὰ, and in the Latin Columba." "St. Columba was born of noble parents; his father was Fedilmith, son of Fergus, and his mother was Aethne, whose father can be called in Latin 'Filius Navis,' but in the Scotic tongue Mac Nave."

The name Iona suggests a connection with *Eona*nn, the cup above mentioned, equal to *ian*, a bird, John, occurring most likely in the name "Gel*eoin* mac Ercol," and "Gal*eoin*" of the Firbolg, words connected with St. John in after times, and whose worship is celebrated with fire in South Germany, as well as in the British Islands. The Dove from earliest time has in the East been consecrated to Venus Myllita,[3] Ormuzd, Mithra, and Zarvana the "father of fathers," that is, the father of Ormuzd and Mithra, who form a supreme triad. Their emblem was a crown or circle, containing within its circumference part of a human body united with a dove. It was generally composed of the body, wings, and tail, though other emblems were used, as an ivy

[1] *Goidelica*, Stokes, quoting M'Firbis.
[2] *Aryan Mythology*, vol. i. p. 328.
[3] Lajard's *Venus*, p. 156.

leaf, etc.,[1] and was called the *mihr*, an abbreviation of *Mithra*, signifying the sun and love, and was the seal on the forehead of the soldier of Mithra as of the more ancient Mylitta, and was also the emblem of Astarte, Aphrodite, etc.[2]

So Mithra, who, as the arranger of seasons and times, is the giver of fruits and harvests, is also the sender of children, and multiplier of flocks; and to symbolise this, we find attached to the extremities of the lower wings with which he is provided, doves, vine branches, and ears of corn, recalling the ideas of love and reproduction.[3]

Now the name of Columba's father was Fedilmith. Phelim is a well-known Irish name, and the commentators, aspirating the *d*, render it quiescent, and so the Fe*dh*limid becomes *feilim*, of which O'Reilly, quoting O'Curry, says it signifies "a helmet not met with in the ancient MSS., but used in this sense in modern romances." Now comparing this with what has been said of Uthyr Pendragon, etc., and noticing that his mother's name, given as Aethne, also spelt Eithne, signifies a "kernel," the allusion is clearly to something covered or concealed. Her father's name is Filius Navis or Mac Nave, *navis* (Latin), a ship.[4] The arch-priest of Mithra was represented seated in a skiff wielding an oar.[5] *Scaphium* in Latin is a cup, like a boat, and Juvenal uses it for a female headdress.[6] *Naf*, pl. *Neifion*, in Welsh is Lord, Creator, *neifion*, creative powers, Neptune. In Gaelic, *nae* is a man or woman, Mithra was originally androgynous; *nai* is a ship, *neamh* (the *mh* sounds *v* or nasal *u*) the membrum virile (O'Reilly). The interrelation of these names needs no comment. "Off

[1] Lajard's *Venus*, p. 145. [2] Lajard's *Mithra*, p. 189. [3] *Ibid.* p. 624.
[4] *De Dia Syria*, pp. 31-32; quoted, Lajard's *Venus*, p. 74.
[5] Lajard's *Mithra*, p. 250. [6] *Satire* vi. l. 263.

the coast of Mayo there is a small island, Inniskea" (*Cae*, enclosure, *kay*, mist, *Kedicus drws*, the clan *Cai* or Clachinyha), "the inhabitants of which are a very primitive and uncultivated race, and which, though it takes its name from a female saint (it is the Insula Sancti Geidhe of the Hibernian Hagiographers) does not contain a single Catholic priest. Its inhabitants, indeed, as we learn from an interesting communication to *Notes and Queries*, by Sir J. Emerson Tennent, are mere idolaters, and their idol, no doubt the representative of Priapus, is a long cylindrical stone, which they call *Neevougee*. This idol is wrapped in flannel, and is intrusted to the care of an old woman, who acts as priestess. It is brought out and worshipped at certain periods when storms disturb the fishing, by which chiefly the population of the island obtain a living, or at other times it is exposed for the purpose of raising storms, which may cause wrecks to be thrown on the coast of the island. I am informed that the word Neevougee is merely the plural of a word signifying a canoe, and it may perhaps have some reference to the calling of fishermen."[1] It is very instructive to find what Filius Navis, Mac Nave (Macnab, the great original of which clan, tradition says, had a boat of his own at the flood) thus may, and doubtless does, mean, and seeing that the parent on the father's side of the same generation is called Fergus, and remembering the Bod Fergus of Tara, and the many Ferguses we have seen preceding our Celtic patriarchs, I have little doubt that the Inniskea stone was a phallus, and that the name Fergus is probably connected with the word *fear*, a man ; *fearachas*, manhood.

We have, however, other significations of the name Colum clearly indicated in the *Life*, besides that of a

[1] *Notes and Queries*, 1852, vol. v. p. 121. Quoted, Payne Knight, p. 248.

dove. *Colum*, in Gaelic generally, *Colman* and *columan* in Scotch, *colamen* in Welsh, *koulm*, a tame pigeon, in Aremoric (the wild pigeon being called *kudon*, *ysguthan* in Welsh), are nearly allied in sound to *colomh*, a prop or pillar in Gaelic; *colon* in Welsh, evidently the same as the Latin *columna*, bringing us to the idea of an upright stone again.

"On another night Cruithnecan," *i.e.* Pict, who appears as "a priest of blameless life, to whose care the blessed youth" (Columba) "was confided, found his house illuminated with a bright light, and saw, in fact, a ball of fire standing over the face of the little boy as he lay asleep."[1] The narrative is not quite consistent, for it would appear that a blaze of light surrounded him both by day and night.[2] Next mention of this peculiarity, strange to say, is while Columba was at Teilte, that is, Teltown, where the Tuatha de Danaan *Lug* had instituted the games. It would appear that Columba had been excommunicated for many years, but attended an assembly, possibly the Lughnasa at Teilte, because St. Brendan informed those present, "I have seen a most brilliant pillar wreathed with fiery tresses preceding this same man of God whom you treat with contempt."[3] As one would suppose, this was a thing not to be hid; but, curiously enough, Columba makes a mystery of the light. A certain Virgnous having entered a little side-chapel, Columba entered the oratory and filled it with light, some thus bursting through the inner door of the chamber; "and as no one can look directly at, or gaze with steady eye on, the summer sun in his mid-day splendour, so Virgnous could not at all bear this heavenly brightness which he saw, because of the brilliant and

[1] Adamnan's *Columba*, B. iii. c. 3.
[2] *Ibid.* B. i. c. 1.
[3] *Ibid.* B. iii. c. 4.

unspeakable radiance which overpowered his sight." Columba leaves the church, and next day commends Virgnous for keeping his eyes on the ground, though had he not done so, the Saint tells him, "that priceless light would have blinded thine eyes. This, however, thou must carefully observe—never to disclose this great manifestation of light while I live."[1]

Virga is a rod; *fleasg* is a rod in Gaelic, and is the name applied to the mesial line of Ogmic writing. *Fleasgach* is a young man, a bachelor, and this is the name applied to the lowest grade of graduates in our universities. Virgnous seems a Latinisation of the word *fleasgach*, and is here applied to one evidently only partially instructed. *Bâc'h* in Aremoric is an instrument with a curved point, in Vannes, a stick, while it also signifies a dark enclosed space. *Bachal* is a staff, a crozier, in Gaelic. From this clearly is derived *bachelier*, bachelor. Now Lajard tells us that a shepherd's crook is a frequent symbol on the engraved Mithraic cones, sometimes in the hand of the novice, sometimes of the priest.[2] The bronze *bachal* head of St. Fillan is still preserved.

But to return to Columba's light. A certain Colga, getting a gleam of it through the door by chance, is told by the Saint, "Take care of one thing, my child, that you do not attempt to spy out and pry too closely into the *nature* of that heavenly light which was not granted thee, but rather fled from thee, and that thou do not tell any one during my lifetime what thou hast seen;"[3] and to another who had looked through the keyhole, he tells that had it not been for his prayers on his account, "thou wouldst have fallen dead there before the door, or thine eyes would have

[1] Adamnan's *Columba*, B. iii. c. 20.
[2] Lajard's *Mithra*, p. 164.
[3] Adamnan's *Columba*, B. iii. c. 21.

been torn out of their sockets." At the time of Columba's death the whole vault of heaven was illuminated, and there appeared something "like an immense pillar of fire, which seemed to us, as it ascended upwards at that midnight, to illuminate the whole earth like the summer sun at noon." [1]

I conclude, then, that this attribute of effulgence makes the name Colum equivalent to the name of Milesius "Golamh," derived from the Aremoric *goulou* or *goulaou*, light; also spelt *gôlô*, and in this form also signifying a cover, something which serves as a covering; compare with the name of Columba's father, Fedhlim. Colum cille, then, is the "light of the Church," a not inappropriate name, even if he had been what the Christian traditions make him. Certainly a dove-like meekness was no part of his character, as he is said to have caused various wars; and he was so enthusiastic in cursing as on one occasion to have walked into the sea to let the object of his anathemas have them at the nearest possible range.

It is needless here to analyse the whole miracles of the three books, but there are among them some things specially worthy of note.

He was a soothsayer. He "obtained from God, by the virtue of prayer, that some kings should be conquered and others come off victorious." Tacitus's German priest invoked the gods before casting his lots. Now the assistance he had in helping his friends is very curious. Aidan, the Scotic king, was in great peril, so Columba said to his minister, "Diormit, ring the bell," and, after prayer, announced that the Scots were victorious. This was *Eur mad*—good luck—for Aidan, and Diarmid's vessel here is actually a bell, and neither a caldron, a stag, nor Fionn's wife.

[1] Adamnan's *Columba*, B. iii. c. 24.

With Columba the lot was cast into the lap. Aidan being in doubt to which of his three elder sons he should give the succession, asked of Columba which of them would be king. "None of the three," was the answer; "but if (! mark the ignorance of present facts, though capable of foretelling those to come) thou hast any younger sons, let him come to me, and that one of them whom the Lord has chosen to be king will at once rush into my lap." Of course the prophecy came true, and of the elder children, two were slain by the Miathi (Maeatae ?), and the third in Saxonia.

We have seen that Mengw and Art, the son of Conn, were heralded by "three shouts," and the same story, modified, occurs in connection with the appointment of Aidan. Columba, it seems, had a leaning to a certain Iogenan (see Iewan *supra*), but an angel was sent to him with a "book of glass" in which the succession was inscribed, and, because Columba hesitated, struck him on the side with a scourge, the marks of which remained on his side all the days of his life. Now, when fortune came to Aidan, it was by Diormit ringing (in Gaelic the word is still to strike) the bell; and as we have seen that Patrick's bell required to be struck with a hammer, so we may conclude that this had likewise to be done with Columba's. As the others had three calls, so did the angel make in all three visits on Columba, doubtless repeating the blow each time. Aidan was thus a man of three shouts, or, we may say, of three calls. The mark made on his side is doubtless in allusion to the same thing as the cracks in the earthly tabernacle of Mungo, and the golden thread mended split in the head of Conn mac Nessa.

The reference to Jonah at the commencement of the *Life* at once recalls the marine monster which

swallowed up the "dove," since such is the interpretation of the name of the Hebrew prophet, and accordingly we find that whales play a part in Columba's life also. He warns a certain Berach (*biorrach*, a boat; *bior*, a pin, sharp point, Hebrew *beriach*—O'Reilly), and subsequently Baithene (his successor, and who, as he is commemorated on the same day, was, I believe, another name for Columba himself, allied with *beath* of Bethoun Vethan of the Liethali), not to put to sea for a certain *Cetos*, the Greek name for a whale.[1] Now we have a story of Columba settling a dispute between Aidan son of Gabhran, the Scot (*gabhran* is a little goat, and the sign of the Second Legion, long stationed at Isca, or Caerleon on Usk, in the country of the sons of Liethali, was the goat or Capricornus), and Aid mac Ainmire, the Irishman, at a place called "Dorsum Cete," otherwise called "Drium Ceate." Now the handle of the bell of St. Fillan is a double-headed sea monster, and it may be the back of Ked, *i.e.* of Kedicus Drws, if I am right in the conjecture that these are the same. If so, then we have another allusion to sortilege, and this is supported by the stories of later writers, who tell us that Columba did not give a verdict himself, but referred it to a certain Colman, son of Comgellan; and as we find Comgell of Bangor in Ulster, the Pict, described as conversing with him on the way back from this conference, that Colman may be intended to represent his son. Nor is this Cet the only aquatic animal he encountered; we have him also preventing one from destroying a certain Lugne Mocumin, while swimming in the Ness at Inverness. Lugne is Lug, as before, *mac cumain* son of the dish or shrine (O'Reilly), a name applied in Scotland to a milk-pail, vessels of which mention is

[1] Adamnan's Columba, B. i. c. 13.

made more than once in the *Life*, the term *uter* being in one case applied to one taken away by the sea, and miraculously brought back again to the place from whence it had been carried off.

There is rather an amusing prophecy made to a certain Colga, son of Aid Draignich (*Colg*, a sword—sting, prickle, son of dragon-like Aid), whom Columba warns, that "when at any time thou happenest to see thy butler making merry with a company of his friends at supper, and twirling the ladle round in the strainer, know that then in a short time thou shalt die."

Nicolson gives us a Proverb in which the word ladle makes its appearance :[1]—

"Mur biodh mu'n phoit ach Mac Sheoc's an liadh!"

"If there were none about the pot but Jock's son and the ladle, *I should fare the better then.*"

*Lia*dh the ladle, *Lia* the stone, and Mac Sheoc, the son of Ian, the butler himself, Bedwyr—Bodach; but here we have others about the pot—the butler's friends, and it was so much the worse for Colga the son of Aid Draignich.

Whether this alludes to tampering with the lots, or to what, I am not prepared to say. This was the same Colg forbidden to inquire too closely as to the cause of Columba's brilliancy.

We have previously seen how the Firbolg, after their defeat by the Tuatha de Danaan, embarked from Moy, and then took possession of the Hebrides and the Orkneys. Here we are told that Cormac, the grandson of Lethan, was sailing from the other side of the river Moda, the Moy in Sligo, from the place called Eirros Domo (Eirris in Mayo), seeking a settlement; and we find again that this same Cormac visited the Orkneys, having had great trouble from curious

[1] Nicolson's *Proverbs*, p. 321.

stinging beasts of the size of frogs, which settled specially on the *handles* of the oars. Compare the handle of St. Fillan's bell. If Cormac means the son of the *coire* or kettle, he is here described as the grandson of Lethan. Now Letha is said to be an ancient Irish name for Italy, but it certainly, in the town of Leith, is now the appellation of the principal seaport of the country of Manand, and of Dun*edin*, the Gaelic name of Edinburgh.

I have spoken of the copper ear—the ear-shaped, mystic, axe of Mithra, with which was slain the sacrificial bull. I fancy this symbolised that by the use of the ear in receiving instruction was secured the destruction of the carnality of the initiated, which was regarded as a sacrifice to the divinity, typified by the bull, the emblem of lust. However this may be, we are told that Columba in an inadvertent manner blessed a knife for the slaying of bulls, but afterwards inquiring what sort of knife it was, says he hopes it will not injure man or beast. This being found to be the case with the knife in question, the monks artfully melted it down, and coated therewith various utensils, which had the effect of rendering them innocuous. This is not a use which could have been made of iron, and the well-known bronze-covered iron bells of the Gael are, I should suppose, in this case alluded to.[1]

The Mithraic attribute of a door-keeper is illustrated by making Columba open the doors of the royal fort of Brude, son of Bile, the Pictish king,[2] and these doors are described as folding-doors, having thus the more resemblance to the *heulor*, half-door, of the *heulorsaf* or solstice.

Brude's name seems simply to be the Aremoric *Brud*, a noise which spreads, traditions, traditional

[1] Adamnan's *Columba*, B. ii. c. 33.

[2] *Ibid.* B. ii. c. 36.

annals, and he was son of Bile, that is, *Beli*, sovereignty, a drinking-vessel, etc. Columba, also, when the keys were misplaced, opened by his word a church door.[1]

He curiously cures Broichan (Aremoric *Brochen*, plural *Brechen*, a twig, a small slip of wood, the lots ?) of a blow received from an angel who broke the glass cup that was in the Druid's hand, by a white stone which he blessed, and which was kept as a treasure by the king. It had the power of healing diseases, but if the issue were to be fatal, the stone disappeared. This is the story of Conn mac Nessa, the victim of the stone, again, I suppose, in a different form.

It is needless to go further in detail into these stories ; but we may notice that Columba had a bare flag-stone for his couch, that he performed a journey in a car, miraculously not falling, though the linch-pins had been neglected, the incident put in to account for the story or from some allusion which I do not follow ; he made a progress under a wooden canopy supported on four sides by men, and his voice could be heard a mile off, each syllable he uttered being audible. He had an enemy called Joan of the race of Gabran, and he, as we know, converted the chief of the *Geona* cohort, called Artbran, and Iona is the name of his island, though it is called Ioua in the *Life;* and it is interesting that St. Eonan's bell at Inch, above mentioned, is the bell nearest resembling St. Fillan's extant ; the handle of it, however, is plain. His death was followed by a storm of wind, which prevented any one being present at the funeral but the priests ; and his near decease was announced by a white horse used to carry the milk-pails. Tacitus informs us that the Germans, not only the commonalty but the princes and priests, paid great attention to

[1] Adamnan's *Columba*, B. ii. c. 37.

the oracular snortings of *milk-white horses*, and Columba's "gearran" is represented as weeping in his breast.

Let us examine Aidan, King of Dalriada in Columba's time. Julius Firmicus Maternus, a Christian, tells us that the Persians worshipped a man, a slayer of oxen (Mithra) in hidden grottos, and they connect this worship with the power of fire, and that the seat of Mithra was on the Gorotman or Behescht, the "mountain of light," "the eternal dwelling of pure souls."[1] *Aodh*, says O'Reilly, is fire; Greek, *ἀΐω*. It is also the Irish for *Hugh*, the *Hu* of the Welsh myths, and the *U mor* of the Firbolg. This name is as frequently spelt Aedh, and Aidan bears the same relation to this as the Welsh *Huan*, the sun, does to *Hu*. *Hud* is an illusion, mystery. In Aremoric we find *Huel* means sublime, elevated; and here we get a glimpse of the significance of the mistletoe, which is in that language *Huel var*,—*Huel* compounded with *bar*, a branch—top. *Aoi* in Gaelic, is instruction, discipline, another signification of the Welsh *hud*, while it also signifies a swan (compare the Knight of the Swan, *supra*). *Adan* is a species of bird in Aremoric, and the *Adan vor*, Legonidec tells us, is a species of nightingale with a white mark on the top of its head. This *Adan* is the Welsh *edyn*, a winged one, a bird (Dun-edyn? Edinburgh), while *edyrn* signifies sovereignty, and *edrin*, a murmuring noise, possibly applicable to the song of the nightingale.

Columba's King, Aidan, is, I think, easily referable to a sun-worship; and Edern, who is called "the supremacy of terrors," the opponent of Cunedda,[2] is described as the son of Padarn (Patera, the title of the

[1] Lajard's *Mithra*, pp. 110, 133.
[2] Taliessin, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. i. p. 258.

priest of Belinus),[1] while in the *Mabinogion* he is the son of Nudd (*mist—kay*), and the leader of the black troop of the men of Denmark (the Tuatha de Danaans?); and in this Mabinogi Kay is described as the finest horseman of the host, all turning towards him when he made his appearance.

Dr. Skene tells us that at the period of these early Christian Celts in the latter half of the sixth century, the new faith was established at the battle of Arthuret, thus mentioned, about the year 573, in the *Annales Cambriae*. "Bellum Armterid inter filios Elifer (called Gosgordvawr, son of Arthur, of the race of Coel Hen,[2] and Gwendoleu filium Keidiau, also a son of Arthur;)[3] in quo bello Gwendoleu cecidit." Gwendoleu was Nudd's brother, and his opponents were Maelgwn Gwynedd, the nominee of Maeldaf; Ridderch, the nominee of Mungo; and Aedan, the nominee of Columba; and the battle was fought at the Knows of Arthuret, about nine miles north of Carlisle, near a place with enormous earthen ramparts, called the Moat of Liddel.[4]

Who is this Gwendoleu, and is he more than his opponents, "surrounded with every type and symbol of a pagan cult," as Skene says?

Davies says Gwendoleu had "two dusky birds, which guarded his treasure, wearing a yoke of gold, and which were in the daily habit of consuming two persons for their dinner, and the like number for their supper;"[5] and he explains his name as "the master of the fair bow," and also as "of the luminous oblique courses,"[6] on what grounds I am unable to say. He is said, in the *Black Book of Caermarthen*, to have been

[1] Powell's *Llhoyds Cambria*, Introd., p. 27. *Mabinogion*, B. ii. p. 404.
[2] *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. i. p. 168.
[3] *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 455.
[4] *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 66.
[5] *Celtic Researches*, vol. ii. p. 463.
[6] *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 195.

the Pillar of Songs,[1] and the *Avallenau* says,[2] the last honourer of Merlin; while in the *Gododin* we are told,[3] "he was a tall man of great worth before he was covered." He was son of Ceidio, *preservation;* son of Arthwys, *the encloser;* son of Mor, *the sea;* son of Ceneu, *whelp;* which reminds us of the whelp, the cause of quarrel between the Picts and Scots, while *Geneu* is a pass, a mouth, and if we were to take the localisation as correct, it would indicate the pass dominated by the Moat of Liddel, which we are told was the principal pass leading from the Roman wall into Scotland, and Ceneu was the son of Coel Hen. *Coel* is an omen, belief, trust, in Welsh; *coel*bren, a letter, ballot-stick, lot, alphabet; coel*faen*, an omen stone, stone of testimony, *coel* being compounded with *maen*, a stone; and it is at least a singular coincidence that "Cuilmenn," about which we have so romantic a story in O'Curry, as the most ancient Irish book on record, has a name as if compounded of the same words.

And further, it appears that the Tain Bo *Chuail*gne was contained in this *Cuil*menn, and was narrated to Murgen, the poet, at the grave-stone of Fergus during a mist which lasted three days.[4] Here we have Fergus's stone again. *Cuil* in those words is allied with *coel*, an omen. Without doubt, Finn mac Cuil owes his parentage not only to the obscurity of his residence but also to his powers of prognostication, and this most likely primarily.

Coel's grave is shown at Coilsfield, Ayrshire; and Coel Hen is undoubtedly Old King Cole of festive memory, who, "merry old soul," "called for his pot, and called for his pipe, and called for his fiddlers three."

[1] *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. i. p. 294.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 371. [3] *Ibid.* p. 416.
[4] O'Curry, *Materials*, p. 30.

This master of a triad of professors of all the various musical implements has a name in itself implying a predisposition to sound. κοίλος, hollow, mistakenly derived from κέλω—I warn by crying (Heb. *kelo*, hollow); *coelcerth*, a signal of alarm—Welsh. Damm says, while κέλω implies a distinct sound, it is in the way of exhortation rather than command. Lles ap Coel is said to have been the first Christian king of Britain (*llesio*, I sound); he is the Lucius of Bede,[1] and of Nennius, some copies of which state that he was called "Lever maur," *i.e.* "the great Luminary." What can this be but the sun-worship disguised under a Christian garb? Now *gwen*, fair, and *dulio*, to bang, beat, knock, recalls the stag-thwacking; in Aremoric *Gwenn* means white, while *gôlô*, as already said, is light; *Gwêner* is Venus, the Vanora of Arthur—Guiniver; and *Gwengôlô* is September, the month of the autumn equinox—the *ked*ez gwengôlô. The hamlet and stream falling into the Esk called Carwinelow,[2] near the Knows of Arthuret, at the moat of Liddel, may be explained by the word *gerwinol* (Welsh), rough, making it the equivalent of such names as Garry. Of course, if the stream is not a rough one, this derivation fails.

There is reason for believing that the earliest Roman year began at the vernal equinox, and, consequently, half the year was ended at the autumnal. This arrangement of time may have been Etruscan. As this was the period of the greatest power of the sun, I take the defeat of Gwendoleu to be nothing else than the termination of his power for the half of the year, and so he was a "man of great worth before he was covered," we may suppose, by the mists of winter.

It was a peculiarity of the Romans to celebrate the

[1] Bede, B. i. c. 4. [2] Glennie's *Arthurian Localities*, p. 69.

great Mithraic festival of the Leontica at the commencement of April, or in the month of March, the former consecrated both to Venus and Mythra, the second as well as the first marking the vernal equinox —the time of renewing of life upon earth, the equinoxes in the East being considered as favourable for the descent of souls into the ways of generation. The descent and ascension of souls was the basis of Chaldean doctrine; the body was the grave of the soul, and during life the soul's elevation was the road towards the entrance of the abodes of the blest. Thus some of the Greek philosophers used a phrase expressive of the Zoroastrian idea of the fall of souls, when they said that they "sont tombées dans la génération," *i.e.* they had fallen into (the ways of) generation, viz., carnal pleasure.[1] The autumnal equinox was favourable to the development of life in the seeds confided to the earth,[2] and it was characterised by the apple-tree, hence the allusion in the *Avallenau* to Gwendoleu.

The word *kédes* Legonidec derives from *keit*, Breton for equal, and *dies*, a day. Does not this spelling give a hint towards localising, in the island of the Firth of Forth, a sanctuary of the worship in which St. Fillan's equal-headed, double-phallic handled bell was a symbol, viz., Inch*keith*. Islands, as in Inniskea in Ireland, the Isle of Man, and Iona, were always preferred for a site; though, so far as Inchkeith is concerned, we have *Dal*keith, the plain of Keith, on the adjacent southern shore, the "Campus Gai," I suppose, the site of the battle between Oswy and the Britons in the Regio Loidis of Bede.[3] It is noteworthy that Kai is the Marischal of Arthur in the mediaeval romances, and that the Earls Marischal of Scotland are

[1] Lajard's *Mithra*, pp. 574, 96, 133. [2] Lajard's *Venus*, p. 213.
[3] *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, Pref., p. cxvi.

called *Keith*, and are traditionally connected with the Clan Chattan.

Gwendoleu's two golden-yoked birds are again an apparent allusion to the same relic, and their meal on two bodies is not difficult of explanation. In the *Avallenau*, where Gwendoleu is described as Merddin's patron, the poet addresses "Parchellan," a "little pig.' But *par* is a *pair* in Welsh, as in Aremoric, and *celan* (the *collan* of the Gaelic) is a dead body. A pig was the sacrifice to Freya, the German Venus, and, as a not uncommon priapic offering, it has been already alluded to. Probably it may have had some connection with Aremoric *bar*, a branch, and *kélen*, knowledge, doctrine; and is thus a mystic juggling with words, possibly misunderstood by the writers to whom we owe the *Avallenau* in its present form. This eating of bodies, however, is very suggestive of the Orphic *ὠμοφαγία*, and the apple-trees, *i.e. Avallenau*, have had a connection with priapic rites since the remotest times.

In the Bardic writing last alluded to we find Arthur described as "Arthws, son of the sea." In the Mithraic symbolism, we find *Ardoûis*our as the name for the "eau céleste," the watery element of the sky, said to produce all things that grow on earth;"[1] Zoroaster having thought that Ormuzd, the father of Mithra, had revealed this to him.[2] This Ardouisour sprang from the Albordj the Behescht, the mountain of gold and of light, and was itself said to be of the colour of gold. It is personified in the form of a girl with the body of a horse, and is styled "vigorous horse," which reveals to us the Asiatic origin of the Greek myth of Pegasus (*πήγη*, a spring, fountain) who caused to spring from his foot-mark on Helicon,

[1] *Mithra*, p. 178. [2] *Ibid.* p. 140.

mountain of light and of the sun, the fountain Hippocrène, *i.e.* the fountain of the horse.[1]

Possibly from some such myth as this was developed the fable of the *bandachlach*, the female courier of Finn mac Cuil, who is described in the Ossian Society publications[2] as wheeling and hovering around during the slaughter of strangers (*allmhurchaibh*): hence, possibly, the Eochaids, horsemen of other early Irish traditions, and the horses stamped on the coins of the time of Cunobelinus, Tasciovanus, etc., one of which inscribed with Tasci*anova* and Cunobeline has on its one side a horse and female figure combined, like the centaurs figured in Davies's *Celtic Research*.[3]

This Ardrouisour is, I conceive, the source of the Arthws, the "encloser" of Davies, and Arddwr the Welsh for a ploughman, and so he is united with Hu the introducer of husbandry among the Cymry.

In the Mithraic rites there were twelve grades to which the soldier of Mithra could reach, each of these grades corresponding to the twelve periods into which the solar revolution was divided, and of which the twelve labours of Hercules are also symbolic. Mithra was the ruler of times and seasons, and the number twelve, as applied to the Arthurian battles according to Nennius, is doubtless another expression of the same symbolism misapplied.

The original meaning of Cai, and which has been translated "mist," "an enclosure," etc., has an origin also in the old Chaldean theories, which the worship of Milytta and Mithra makes known to us, a worship specially cultivated in Cilicia and Phoenicia.

After having created inanimate things, light, water,

[1] Lajard's *Mithra*, p. 649. [2] Vol. iii. pp. 71, 99.

[3] Copied from Whitaker's Manchester, Davies's *Celtic Research*, opposite p. 500.

the earth, Ormuzd created a first being which Zoroaster called the first bull. This which was created, not conceived, was poisoned by Ahriman, the evil spirit, and its life escaping, it carried the semen from its genitals to the lunar heaven, where, warmed by the sun, it became the germ of all creatures. From this bull, then, was produced the prototype of the first man called Gaya mĕrĕta, Gaiomard, which has been changed to Kaïomard and Kaiomorts. The word *gaya*, *gava*, *gueïe*, *gao* implies bull, life, soul therefore in the teaching of Zoroaster is implied that before creating animals, Ormuzd created the principle of life,[1] *Gaya-mĕrĕta*, bull-man, or, in the abstract, "life of mortals." Hence, I believe, the word *Cai* (Gr. γαῖα), the insula Sancti Geide, Inniskea, the pantler of Arthur, for from Gaiomard's tail and marrow trees and plants are developed, from his horns fruits, and grains, and seeds,—cornucopia, the horn of plenty.

From him were developed the first man and woman, a sort of tree bearing men as fruit, but they yielded service to Ahriman and so lost the purity of Gaiomard, Kaiomorts, and consequently are subject to the judgment of Mithra and his two assessors at death, and sentenced accordingly.

We have seen how tradition tells of the killing of his wife's lap-dog by Partholan, and how the Picts and Scots quarrelled about a pup, which by some authorities is said to have been reputed "peerelesse both in swiftness of foot and in sweetnesse of opening," both musical in tone and fleet (Lugh),[2] and how the earliest Irish invasion of Alban noticed was when a certain Cairpre brought a lap-dog from the East into Britain, Measchu, a lap-dog in Gaelic, from *meas* and

[1] Lajard's *Mithra*, pp. 49-51, 57-58.
[2] Campion, c. xi., quoting Major's *Gest. Scot.*

cu, a dog, *ci* in Welsh, which would make it *measgi*, similar in sound to Meschia and Meschiane (male and female), the man-bearing fruit-tree, the tree apparently being androgynous.

Whether *measchu* is a misinterpretation of Meschia or not, it is clear that the Carpre Mwsc's "lap-dog" was something else than its name implies; and having already identified it with St. Fillan's bell, I think that it was not impossibly a Meschia or phallus-bearing bille or cup (*vide* ballan, O'Reilly), comparable to what is called in Ireland Bile, pronounced Beile in Tipperary and Waterford, any ancient tree growing over a holy well, or in a fort, or enclosure, more a place of worship than for defence (voce *Bile*, O'Reilly).

The act of generation of Meschia and Meschiana on the temptation of Ahriman was the proximate cause of their fall, thus illustrating the force of the phrase "to descend into the ways of generation."[1]

In the Irish legends the term *cu*, dog, is applied to their greatest hero, Cuchullin, and he is said to have been the dog of Chullin, *i.e.* the foster-father from whom he received his instruction, who was in the island of Skye, the place where Columba converted the chief of the Geona cohort, and where was the well of Artbran called after this chief. The dog was the faithful companion of Mithra, and was the guide of souls to the bridge Tchinevâd where this god and his two assessors weighed the souls in a balance. This dog is shown in a sculpture from the Mithriacum in the Capitol at Rome, watching the wound whence the life escaped from the sacrificed bull, and protecting it from the evil influence of the evil spirit, Ahriman, who as a serpent also advances towards the wound.[2] The name Cuchullin seems probably the same as that of

[1] Lajard's *Mithra*, p. 304.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 509, 685.

a Welsh bard of the ninth century, Cuhelyn, and is compounded of *cu* or *ci*, a dog, and *kêlen*, instruction, knowledge. Spurrell however gives us in Welsh, under the word cup-bearer, *heilyn*, Cuheilyn, the dog, (attendant ?) of the cup-bearer. *Maira* (the glistening) is the name of the dog which assists Erigone, the daughter of Ikarios, in her search for her father's body, and so Kephalos (the head of the sun), appearing in the Vedic Hymns simply as a name for the sun, has an unerring dart, and a dog that never failed to seize his prey, like Finn mac Cuil's Bran, or Diarmid's dog, mac an Chuil, the son of the Hazel (?). So Maelgwn has a dog, but he is priapic, "Dormach of the ruddy nose."[1] In Wales the sovereignty is given to Tristram, *i.e.* Tristan (the proclaimer),[2] along with a little dog spotted, red, blue, and green.[3] He also had a dog called Hodain (corn shooting into the ear), whose connection with priests appears in that Ceridwen's priests are called "Hodigion," bearers of ears of corn.[4]

The "glistening" dog of Icarus appears in Irish tradition in one of the things paid by the children of Tuireann as "eric," to Lughaid Lamhfhada (Caswallan Lawhir!) for the murder of his father Cian. It was "the hound whelp belonging to the king of Ioruaidhe, and his name is Failinis. He shines as brightly as the sun in a summer sky, and every wild beast of the forest that sees him falls down to the earth powerless before him."[5] This is evidently also connected with the stag of the black giant in the *Mabinogion*.

Maira might give rise to a play on words with *Moira*, fate, and so the glistening dog might become the kettle of the steward (*Maor*) of Odhar of Ireland.

[1] *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. i. p. 294.
[2] Davies' *Celtic Research*, vol. ii. p. 447.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 454.
[4] *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 452.
[5] Joyce's *Old Celtic Romances*, p. 59.

Agamemnon talks of Moira who fixes the lot of man, and in the *Iliad* the dividing of the human thread of life is set apart for Moira the apportioner. This derives Moira from μέρος, a part, and so we have an explanation of the Celtic officer, the *maor*.

This derivation seems not to be the true one, as the word seems to equal *mors*, the grinding power,[1] μέρος, a share itself, the idea of pieces or fragments, long naturally expressed by the root used to denote the working of the hammer or millstone.

Thus the office of the *maor*, like that of the fate which "dogs" the steps of men, was to divide to each his portion, as the mill or hammer divides things.

Now the Old High German word *hamar*, our hammer, has been connected with the Lithuanian *akman* and the Sanscrit *acman*, each of which means a stone, and the latter also a thunderbolt—with the Greek ἄκμων, an anvil, but which, in Hesiod's *Theogony*, line 722, can mean nothing but a thunderbolt.[2] Now, as the "brazen anvil" there mentioned took nine days to descend from earth to Tartarus, so Thor's hammer took eight days to return to the earth from where it had been sunk by Thrym the giant.

Thrym is another name for thunder, and appears in such names as Thrumketill, as Thor appears in connection with Thorketyll.

Thus Scandinavian kettles are connected with thunder and lightning, as caldrons are with Diarmuid the *maor* of Tara, and draw into the story Thor's hammer. Strange to say, Campbell's *West Highland Tales* informs us expressly that the Dord (*ord*, a hammer) of Finn was a bell; κοναβέω, to resound, to ring, especially said of metallic bodies, κόναβος, a ring-

[1] *Mythology of the Aryan Nations*, vol. ii. p. 17.
[2] *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 359.

ing, clashing; and Curtius, the German grammarian, assumes a root, κον, καν, comparing the Sanscrit *kankani*, (*campana*), Latin *cano*.[1]

It is curious that we have a word in the Greek, κώδων, signifying a bell, used for a bell with which, in walled towns, an officer went the rounds at night to see that the sentries were at their posts. Diarmaid was called Donn, usually translated Brown, but may he not be connected with this ko*don*, which might come to be understood to signify the "brown dog," and so connect him with Madawg (*Madog*, Welsh, a fox, *Maddadh*, Irish, *Moddey*, Manx, a dog), the joy of the wall?

In Latin, *con*dus is a steward, a butler, and the first syllable in this again may have been confounded with the Celtic prefix so common in such names as Condomarus, Cunobelinus. The word *condus* is described as meaning "procurator peni," a procurer of victuals—a name easily utilisable for a punning alteration to something more priapic. It seems a curious coincidence that at Birrens, in Annandale, is an altar dedicated to "Viradesthi" by a Tungrian soldier of the second cohort, called Pagus Condustris. Pagus is the Latin for *gwled*, whence Gwledig, the title of Arthur Cunetha, etc.—Condustris being evidently an allusion to the office of a steward. It seems probably to have been a Latin translation of a Celtic name.

As is well known, Hector Boece tells us that the Stone of Destiny, this "precious jewel" and royal seat, came from Dunstaffnage, and in this neighbourhood we find traditions which seem to me quite satisfactory for identification.

In the opening of Glensalach[2] which divides Ben-

[1] Liddell and Scott, *Greek Lexicon, voce* κόναβος.
[2] From Story's *St. Modan*, p. 18.

derloch, the region round Balmhaodan, and the site of the ancient Beregonium, there stood a large flat stone, big enough to seat twenty people, which was known as "Suidhe Mhaodain," the seat of Modan. This was split up a few years ago by a barbarous mason. "The people who live by Loch Etive, however, still hand down legends of the 'Clag buidhe Bhaile Mhaodan,' which was held in higher veneration by the people for its curative powers, even than the saint's well. As a matter of very special favour, this yellow bell of *Maodan*'s town was sometimes allowed to be carried to the sick in other parishes, and if, after accomplishing its benevolent errand, it was not immediately carried back, it would take the matter into its own hands and fly through the air to its home, all the while ringing out the most melodious music ever heard by mortal ear. 'I remember,' says Dr. Clark, to whom I (Dr. Story) owe these traditions, 'conversing with old people who believed as firmly as possible that boatmen on Loch Etive often heard the Clag buidhe ringing its saintly tunes in the sky above them as it returned to its home.' According to another legend, one day when the congregation was assembling for public worship, a serpent suddenly appeared on the green before the church, and wriggled through the doorway. The men struck at it with their daggers, and in the confusion some of them wounded each other, and the result was a general scuffle and fight, which subsided on the arrival of the priest. He informed them that the serpent was the great enemy, and as he had succeeded in his diabolical plot of making them profane God's house with bloodshed, mass should never again be celebrated there; a new church must be built beside the shore. A new church was built; but the yellow bell would not remain a night in the new edifice. Again and

again it was carried down, but towards nightfall it invariably evaded custody, ascended the brae, and rested in its former dwelling."

"The bell at last was taken away to Scone. Not long afterwards the people of Balmhaodan heard a din and jangling in the sky above them, and lo, there was the clag buidhe flying home, but instead of its former grave sweet melodies, it was clanging out a novel rhythm which shaped itself into the harsh words, 'an rud nach buin duit, na buin da'; 'don't you meddle with what meddles not with you.' It was removed a second time to Scone, and never returned to desolate Loch Etive. According to other and still fainter legend, it was lost at last in some nameless loch 'in a forgotten mere among the tumbled fragments of the hills.' The lands surrounding Balmhaodan, forming the district of Benderloch, are alleged to have belonged to Modan, who was the head—so runs the tradition—of the Clan Mac Lullich, as recorded in the local phrase, Clann Lulich o thulaich Mhaodain, the Mac Lullichs from the hill of Maodan."

This legend smacks strongly of the church, but the general features of the myths already considered are all there. This bell has the power of returning to its old seat like the "coppeen olain." It is specially called "yellow," like Conn's head; we have the serpent connected with it, in the brawl at the church *door;* and the clan are called of the son of the "swift hero"—Lugh laoich. Most remarkable of all, however, is its having been carried to Scone, and having put in its mouth the words already quoted, which are always preceded by the explanation "mar thuirts clag Scain," as said the bell of Scone, meddle not, etc.

In the story of Diarmaid and Grainne, we are told that Diarmaid had a servant called Muadhan.[1] This

[1] Ossianic Society, vol. iii. p. 79.

name is the same as Modan, being so used by Dr. Joyce in his *Old Celtic Romances.*[1]

Here we have the servant of Diarmaid, localised in Scotland, now figuring as a saint, and connected with a lake not like St. Fillan at the beginning of his life, but at the end. *Aedd* in Welsh signifies noise, clamour. *Aedan* is then the clamorous one, and we notice how the beauty of his voice is insisted upon in the above legend. It is believed that the prefix *mo*, signifying *my*, was used as a term of endearment, as one might say; and thus *mo Aedan*, "my clamorous one," becomes a Scottish saint. Dr. Story informs us in his little book on Saint Modan, that he was connected with Columba, and[2] that Colgan identifies the Scotch Modan with a certain Mudan, at whose monastery Columba called, when on his way from Culdrevny, in Sligo, to Cruimther Fraech's monastery in Leitrim.

"The story is that he turned Columba, and the twelve companions that were with him, into a dirty barn, and though it was Friday gave them nothing for supper, but the carcase of a pig, not even scraped, and to aid their cookery, only a bundle of wet (green?) wands and a broken kettle. This, said Columba, is done in scorn, but heed it not, go on with your cooking; whereupon his followers lighted the wands and put on the kettle. There was a hole in it, but Columba, in the name of God, and Fraech his servant, made them stop it with straw. The pig was cut up and put into the kettle, and when after boiling it was taken out, lo! it had turned from pork into a goodly kettle of fish, fit for the repast of a saint upon a Friday. On leaving the place next morning, Columba foretold that a spot so inhospitable would in future be the abode not of clergy, but of beasts of prey.

[1] Joyce's *Celtic Romances*, p. 297. [2] *St. Modan*, p. 36.

Colgan surely could never see any trace of Modan here."

The trace of Modan is quite distinct; he is not a saint here any more than in Scotland; but as there he was a bell, here he appears as a kettle. The green wands and the pig unscraped suggest the "Gullin—bursti," the golden bristled boar of Fro or Freyr, the god of summer and sunshine, represented by a "gigantic priapus," and appearing here as Crimthan *Freach*—Cruim, thunder, like Thrym in the name Thrumkettle. *Crom*, we are told, is an idol, crooked (O'Reilly), Crimlin, the temple of Crom, the name of several places in Ireland. "It may be further stated that the Gaelic word *Crom*, or *Crum*, signifies literally a maggot." "It is a remarkable fact that the celebrated idol of the ancient pagan 'gaedhil' was Crom Cruach, which literally signifies 'the bloody maggot.'"[1] Thus O'Curry gives his opinion on a matter of tradition; let us compare with it the modern record of Martin in his book on the *Western Islands of Scotland.*

"Allan Macleod had been subject to a pain in various parts of his body." "The hinder part of his head, which was last affected, had a little swelling; and a woman endeavouring to squeeze the humour out of it, she forced out at the same time a little animal near an inch in length, having a white head sharp-pointed, the rest of its body of a red colour, and full of small feet on each side. Animals of this sort have been seen in the head and legs of several persons in the Isles, and are distinguished by the name of Fillan."[2] It seems evident that another name for O'Curry's "Bloody Maggot," the idol of the Pagan Gaedhil, was otherwise called Fillan—most

[1] O'Curry's *Materials*, p. 632.
[2] Martin's *Islands*, Second Edition, 1716, p. 191.

probably also another name applicable to Crimthan Fraech. O'Curry gives us an account of the destruction of the Crom Cruach and his twelve companions (similar in number to Modan's twelve), ornamented with brass, who sank *into* the ground when Patrick struck with his staff on the Crom himself on the Magh Slecht (the Plain Obeisance). Except that the companions sank into the ground, this is evidently the same ceremony as that of the "stag-striking" that we found an account of in the *Mabinogion.*

The Crom also figures in another story of a plague which afflicted Ireland, called the *Chrom Chonnil.*[1] The men of Kerry assembled in Ulster to meet a certain St. Mac Creiche (the son of Plunder) to get him to turn this plague from them, and we are told that among these men of Kerry were certain cousins of the saints, the sons of Cuilcinn (*Cuil*, a corner, obscure place, *ceann*, a head). They died of the plague, however, and Mac Creiche is said, on seeing them, to have raised his Finn Faidheach (*Finn*, bright, *Faidheach*, prophesying; a name for the bell of St. Patrick), and shortly thereafter, a bolt from heaven (cruim ?) fell on the Crom, and reduced it to dust and ashes.

This traditional plague, called the *Galar Buidhe*, the yellow sickness, appears in the Welsh stories as "y Fad Felen,"[2] and it is stated to have caused the death of Maelgwn Gwynedd. The yellow plague and the yellow bell of Modan are one and the same, and in its character of plague it started on its ravages in Ireland apparently from Ulster.

This same story would seem undoubtedly to appear as the "Crocea Mors"—the *yellow death* of Geoffrey of Monmouth, in whose history it is said to have been

[1] O'Curry's *Materials*, p. 630. [2] *Mabinogion*, vol. ii. p. 152.

the name of Julius Caesar's sword, which was buried in the tomb of *Cassivelaunus*, who was slain by a wound received from it.

We shall consider lastly if we find any traces of those traditions in the names of the Clans. The oldest Clans mentioned historically in Scotland are the Clan Canan and the Clan Morgan, occurring in the time of David the First, son of Malcolm Canmore, mentioned in the Book of Deer.[1] The next mentioned is the Clan Chwevl, appearing in a brief issued by Robert the Third at a General Council dated 20th March 1390, in which "Slurach and his brothers and the whole Clan Qwhevil" are mentioned as implicated in a descent made by the Highlanders into the Stormont. It occurred in this way, according to Wyntoun. Sir David Lindsay, Lord of Glenesk, having sent a spy among the Highlanders, presumably his neighbours, and with whom he was at variance, had a response to this move in an incursion of 300 of these latter, who were encountered by Sir Walter Ogilvie, Sheriff of Angus, and Sir Patrick Gray, at Glascune or Glaskeune, as Wyntoun calls it. The small party of Lowlanders, not much over sixty in number, were defeated, the Sheriff slain, and Lindsay himself, who had been "lying at Dundee," seriously wounded in the leg by a Highlander whom he had transfixed with his spear, but who reached him "upthrawand" the weapon.[2] The leaders of these Highlanders are thus described by Wyntoun :—

> "Thomas, Patrick, and Gibbone,
> Duncan sonnys was thare surnowme."

The next notice of this clan occurs also in Wyntoun, who, giving an account of the curious battle on

[1] *Celtic Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 303.
[2] Wyntoun's *Chronicle*, Book ix. chap. xiv.

the Inch at Perth, says that it was fought by sixty men, and that

> "Tha thre score ware Clannys twa,
> Clahynnhe Qwhewyl, and Clachinyha."

Skene, quoting the edition of the *Chronicle* published in 1879, says Wyntoun names the clans "Clahynnbe or Clan Qwhewyl, and Clachiny or Clan Ha."[1] The simple reading of Wyntoun's two lines is, The three score were two clans, Clan Qwhewyl and (*Clan*) Clachinyha. Wyntoun wrote twenty-five years after the combat, which took place in 1396. The next account of it was written about forty-five years after by Bower, who calls them Clan Kay and Clanquhele. In the *Book of Pluscarden*, Buchanan next, in 1461, distinctly connects the Highland combatants on the Inch with the Highlanders of Glascune. Other notices of it are in the *Registrum Moraviense*, in which they are called Clan Kay and Clan Qwhwle. In the *Extracta a variis Cronicis Cocie*, quoted by Hill Burton, they are called Clancay and Clan Qwele. Finally, in Bellenden's translation of Boece, who wrote at least 125 years after the event, we find them called Clan Kays and *Glen* Quhattanis. The Clan Qwhewyl finally appears among the *Broken Clans* in the year 1594 with the spelling Chewill.[2] The spellings then of the names of these two clans are as follows:—Qwhewyl—*Wyntoun*; Quhele—*Bower*; Qwhwle—*Registrum Moraviense*; Qwhevil—*Act of Parliament* 1390; Chewill—*Broken Clans*, 1594; Glen Quhattans—*Bellenden's Boece*; while the other is called Clachinyha—*Wyntoun*; Kay—*Bower* and *Bellenden*; Hay—*Registrum Moraviense*. Skene identifies the Clan Qwhewyl with a name *Kevil*, and the other with the Clan Cameron, which was anciently called Clan

[1] *Celtic Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 310. [2] *Collectanea de rebus Albanicis*, p. 39.

Maelanfhaigh (*the race of the servant of the prophet*). The word at the end, faigh (*prophet*), in the genitive form fhaigh, the *fh* becoming quiescent, becoming the source of the name Hay in Clan Hay of the *Registrum Moraviense.*

Now, in the list of 1594, the Clan Chewill appears immediately after Clan Chattane, and before Clan Chamron, thus identifying it with neither; and however they may have been connected, as, indeed, it seems the Clan Cameron and Clan Chattan are, being of a common stock, the Clans Qwhewyl and Clachinyha at the date of the combat, were most likely as much separate clans from either as these two probably were at the same date from each other.

It seems probable that the names of the clans in Wyntoun are spelled phonetically, and it will be necessary, therefore, to consider what would be their equivalents in modern spelling. The erudition of these days was based on the Latin, and in this language *c* and *q* have been used indifferently by authors when they are followed by vowels; thus pecunia or pe*q*unia. Where *q* occurs before two vowels, the first vowel is always *u;* and it seems clear, however, that under those circumstances *q* conveys a different sound than a simple *c*. Now Wyntoun uses the *qwh* in qwhen, qwhere, qwhethyr, qwhille, qwhill, being the respective equivalents of our modern when, where, whether, whiles (*i.e.* now and again), till; and in the name Farquharson, as we now write it, he writes "Fer*qwh*arissone." We find also that he writes the word virtues "wert*ew*is" on many occasions. Arguing then from the first examples given, the initial *qwh* of the name Qwhewyl gives a sound equal to a guttural *wh;* while arguing from the *ew* in virtues, the *ew* of the clan name equals a modern *ue*, making the name then

Whuel, or possibly Quhuel. Bower, the second historian of the combat, we are informed by Skene, uses *K* for *C*, and *quh* for *ch*,[1] which would give his spellings Quhele and Kay the alternatives of Chele and Cay. In modern Gaelic writing, generally, the system of etymological spelling is adopted; but in the Manx the phonetic system is the prevailing one, and this dialect further recommends itself in the investigation of a Scottish Gaelic name, by being more nearly allied to the Scottish form of speech than the Irish, from which the etymological system has been adopted. *Q* is used in Manx always with the double vowel after it, the first being always the *u*. For example, *quaiyl*, a law-court, convention, from quail, a meeting, which Kelly derives from the word *co-ail; quaillag*, the equivalent of the Scottish *cuileag*, a fly, and *queeyl*, the Scottish *cuibhioll*, a wheel, of which last English word we have a Scotch spelling in the *Registrum Moraviense*, in the name Johannis *Qhwel*wrycht. In the only Lowland word beginning with *qu*, appearing in Jamieson's *Dictionary*, directly derived from the Gaelic—*quaich*, a cup—the *qu* stands for *cu* of the Gaelic *cuaich*. We thus find the name of the first-mentioned clan necessarily having an aspirate in its first syllable, equalling, as we have said, either *whuel* (Wyntoun) or *chele* (Bower), giving a decided cast of improbability to the sound having been that of a simple *k*, as in kevil. The letter *w* is not now used in Scotch or Irish Gaelic, but it is in the Manx and the Breton, as well as in the Welsh. Its equivalent in those three languages is expressed by the French *ou*, or the double *oo* in the English word *boot* when it does not begin a word. It therefore seems probable that the name Qwhewyl of Wyntoun represents

[1] *Celtic Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 316.

Choouil, though from Bower calling it *chele*, the double *oo* may have partaken of a somewhat sharper sound, such as the diphthong *eo* would express, and might thus be written *cheoil*, which is not unlike the original spelling of Bower himself. In the Manx, the initial *q* has a peculiar signification in connection with proper names, there representing what in Scotch Gaelic is written in full length, the *mac*, well known to all as the Gaelic for the word *son*. Thus *quayl* is the equivalent of the Scottish Macphail, which Kelly translates from the Manx, as meaning the son of Paul—*Qua* (Manx) representing the Scotch MacKay. Now we find a reason for this in the Scottish pronunciation of the word *mac*, which is pronounced as if it were spelled Machq; and, therefore, if the clan name was, in 1396, preceded by the word *Mac*, a Lowland ear would naturally begin the name with a *q* sound. While dismissing, as unlikely, that the second syllable of the name Qwhewyl was equal to *Vil*, "Kevil," it is but fair to admit that the first and last spellings, as they occur in the brief of the Council of Robert III. and of the list of broken clans in the Acts of the Scottish Parliament respectively, Qwhevil and Chewill give some colour to this; but no person can doubt that the *ev* of the one and the *ew* of the other might equally well represent a modern *u*; while Bower's Quhele and the Qwhwle of the *Registrum Moraviense* give no countenance whatever to this pronunciation, but are strong evidence for its being *cwhuil*. Have we any name in Gaelic which is similar to this? In Dean Macgregor of Lismore's collection of Gaelic poems, written phonetically, according to the spelling of Lowland Scotch in his day, namely, about the year 1512, we find the father of the mythical hero of the Gael called Kowle, the

modern equivalent of which is given as Cumhaill. We then find *Sliabh Chuailgne*, that is, the Hill of Cuailgne, thus described :—

> "On Cuailgne's bare and rounded hill,
> He (*Finn Mac Cumhal*) laid it on the Feine of Faïl
> Materials for the work (of building a fort) to get."[1]

The name Cuailgne is spelled Quoal in the original.

Sir David Lindsay, writing about 1535, spells M^c^Cumhal, M^c^Coull; Dunbar calls him MaKowll, a form[2] like the MacKoull used for M^c^Dougal of Lorn in a roll of the lairds within whose lands "broken men" dwelt, relative to an Act of the eleventh Parliament of James VI., 29th July 1587.

Dr. MacLauchlan, in a note to the Dean of Lismore's book, says :—"The name (of Finn) is pronounced Finn mac Cuil, very much as MacDougal is pronounced in the speaking of Gaelic." Campbell gives *Macgooil* as the pronunciation of MacDugald; and we here find an analogy between the *d* sound and the *Qu* of the Manx, the latter being mutable into *g*, as *quing* a yoke, nyn *g*uing the yoke. Thus, in Scotch Gaelic, we have in the word spelt boch*d* poor, the pronunciation boch*q*.[3] This would imply an identification of the MacDougalds of Lorn with the Clan of the Inch battle, which I think improbable, though there is sufficient ground for the belief that the name usually spelt MacDowle, not necessarily, nor even apparently original to Lorn, which particular sept have a Dughald, a son of Somerled, as their eponymus, was derived from the same source as that of Clan Qwhewyl.

I am, then, of opinion that this Clan, which from its first appearance in history to its last was an object

[1] Dean of Lismore, p. 14.
[2] Campbell's *Highland Tales*, vol. iv. pp. 67, 54.
[3] Stewart's *Grammar*, p. 15.

of pursuit by the ruling powers, was not the same as any other large confederacy of septs, but was a tribe claiming a title of its own distinct from those others. That it should be seriously reduced in importance is a natural result from the powers arrayed against it. It may be here right to state that we have no hesitation in concluding that the real spelling of the name of the Clan Qwhewyl is most clearly expressed by the Welsh *Haul*, the Aremoric *Heol*, signifying the sun; the *Qw* sounded before the *h* being simply the result of the pronunciation of the letter *c* at the end of the word *mac*, a son, *e.g. Macqhaul* (*Macquheol* of the Aremoric), a pronunciation fully explaining the adoption of the letter *q* in the Ogmic, where *mac* is written *maqq*. The apparent connection, then, of this clan name Macqhaul with the Welsh *haul* (sun), is further confirmation of our theory of the sun-worshipping origin of much of our Scotch tradition. One word here as to a circumstance which makes the judicial combat on the Inch of Perth evidence of a sort of connection with the Feine of Fionn. To express "fair play," the words "Cothrom na feine" are employed, signifying the "chance of the Fein," the equivalent name to which is that so thoroughly dragged through the dirt by our Irish contemporaries, "Fenians." There is no special evidence of an endeavour to give an equal chance to both parties in our other clan engagements, and the desire to act according to this old expression, from a belief that it was specially applicable to themselves, may possibly have had some influence in the arrangements for the combat.

Now to consider the name of the second Clan. Skene cuts up the word "Clachinyha" into Clachiny, which is to equal the spelling of the word which in the two lines quoted has been already twice spelt,

first Clanny, then Clahynnhé, and then separates the last syllable, making it the name Ha, as indeed seems to have been done by previous chroniclers.

It seems then, first, an objection to this reading that the name Qwhewyl is separated from the word signifying Clan, while in the other, Clachinyha is one word. Next, that the *c* inserted in the word alters its pronunciation very considerably, and, indeed, seems to the ear to make it essential to divide the word Clach inyha into two distinct syllables, which is not possible with those words of which there can be no doubt as to their meaning Clan. The consequence of this is a redundancy in the scanning of the line. Thus without the *c* it is in correspondence with the previous line—

Clahy-nnhe | Qwhewyl and | *Clah*ynny Ha;
but Clahynnhe, | Qwhewyl and | *Clach* ynny Ha

is not in accord, which becomes still worse if we make the second word Ke-vil instead of Cùil. The above leads me to the conclusion that Clachinyha is not a compound word, but the name itself of a clan. The accented termination to the second word signifying Clan, namely, the first word of the second line of the couplet, seems to be put in for the sake of metre, though Skene apparently makes the termination not *he* but *be*.[1]

It seems, however, to be the same thing as the following examples from Wyntoun:—*sawff faylyke*, without fail, *gret menyhe*, great many, and *assaylyhe*, to assail. Now what are the indications of the locality of the Clan Qwhewyl?

If Buchanan, in the *Book of Pluscarden*, is right in connecting them with the fight at Glascune, of which there can be no reasonable doubt, they were on

[1] *Celtic Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 310.

that occasion under the command of three Duncansons, that is to say, heads of the Clan Donnachie or Robertson, whose possessions were in Athole, on this side of the Grampians; and their connection with the Macnairs of Strathtummel, and the Aysons (*Mac*kay ?) of Tullimet, in Strathtay,[1] as shown in the brief of Council of Robert the Third, makes it probable that the appellation Clan Qwhewyle applied to clans in that quarter. It has been attempted above to show the connection between the Bell of St. Fillan and the coronation-stone in Westminster Abbey, and the connection of these in tradition with Finn Mac Cumhail. The Macnabs and Macnairs are kindred Clans, and the former having territory in Glen Dochart are associated by Skene with St. Fillan.[2] I venture to suggest a probable connection of the Clan Donnachie, the Macnabs, Macnairs, and others as being the septs to which the old name, which I venture to call Clan Haul, was applied. Whether this is, or is not, the case in the instance of the Macnabs and Macnairs, I think there can be little doubt that it was so with the Clan Donnachie; and if tradition is right in point of fact, when it says the two combatant clans were of one stock, then in the same district as that from which the Clan Donnachie come, we might, on search, find a "parentela" corresponding to the name we want.

Moreover, the presence of the Highlanders before Glascune on the Isla, while Lindesay was at Dundee, points to a direct line being taken, if the invaders started from Athole; a further hint, let us say, as to their habitat.

Skene says that Wyntoun has himself corrupted the names of the Clans,[3] a supposition which seems

[1] *Celtic Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 309. [2] *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 362.
[3] Wyntoun's *Chronicle*, edit. 1879, vol. iii. notes, p. 312.

unnecessary; and, further, one is rather induced to think, from the complete manner in which he handles the early traditions of the Scots, and the vast number of Gaelic names he gives us, that, whether or not wholly ignorant himself of Gaelic, he must have had those about him who had some knowledge of it. Therefore, for one who gives the story of the Stone of Destiny, which he says came from Iona to Scone, it does seem improbable that he would deliberately write *clach*, which connects itself in meaning with "a stone" for "clann," primarily signifying children.

On going over the parish registers of the county of Perth, we find in Scone itself, and in the neighbourhood of Logierait, anciently Loginmacedd, "Login of the sons of Eth," the centre of the jurisdiction of the Earls of Athol, and in what may be called the country of the Clan Donnachie, we find a small clan, called Maclagan, or Macclagan, or Maclaganne—a spelling of 1561; Makclagene, 1590; and it only requires the change of *g* into *ch* to transform it into Macclachine, an identical word with MacClachynnyha, as seems the reasonable reading of the name of the second clan of the battle of the Inch.

Prima facie, from their habitat, these Maclagans were connected with Clan Donnachie, but we find other evidences of a traditional kind connecting the names.

In the dedication of one of his books to Torloch Mac Cochlain, in the year 1630, Michael O'Clery, the principal writer of the *Annals of the Four Masters*, gives the said Torloch's pedigree. In this he makes a Donnghosa a Duncan, the son of Mac Clothcon. The Manx write *choy*rt for *thoi*rt, *ch*yndaays for *th*iondas; and thus this name might otherwise be written Mac Clochcon. Now, it is curious that in this, the only

case where I have seen the name in Irish, it should be found associated in the connection of father and son with that of Duncan, while they are made descendants of Lughaid Maen, Lii Maen (the bright stone ?), son of *Tirech*, the wanderer. In the story of the Ceatharnach we find in the name Rob mac Sheoic ic a Lagan, Robert made the grandson of Maclagan, the Robert of Robertson taking the place of Duncan of Clan Donnachie. Curiously enough, the Sheoic or John, the intermediate generation, in a second version, takes the name of "Ceochd," which is the word *cèothachd*, which is to be translated "misty," from the word *ceo*, mist, the equivalent of which in Manx is *Kay*, mist, the other form of the name of the Clan Clachinnyha of the Inch. This story is a Ross-shire one.

Here, then, we find, reasoning from analogy, that the maker of MacCochlain's pedigree and the Ross-shire story-teller made the name Maclagan or Mac-Clothcon senior to that of Duncan.

That the name, or a name exceedingly similar in sound, is old in Britain, a bilingual Latin and Ogam stone in South Wales, which records the death of a "filius Maglagni," attests.

Now the evidence of tradition is in favour of the name Maclagan having a connection with this priapic symbol, and with it we have connected the word Conn, the name of the Irish king; and we have translated the word *bod*, and have shown how, if M'Clothcon and Donnghosa in the Mac Cochlain pedigree are to be taken as showing a traditional order of succession, the Clan Donnachie are the later family. A tradition received by the writer from Mr. Duncan Campbell, Keighley, Yorkshire, supports this. Speaking of the "Rob Reoch," the chief of the Clan Donoquhy, killed in his encounter with the Forester of the Tor Wood,

about 1442, and of his grandfather (?) Donnacha Reamhar, "a great character in local tradition," he says:—"This man lived in the time of Bruce. His clan called themselves Clan Donnachy, after him. The predecessors of Duncan the Fat were styled 'de Atholia,' and I believe the clan tradition says that Bodach nan Conn (the Master of the Hounds), who married the daughter of King Malcolm, was in his time the chief of their kindred, and that his son by another marriage was first Earl of Athol." Mr. Campbell's translation of Bodach nan Conn, though a mistaken one, is as old as the time of Rob Reoch himself, who had three greyhounds engraven on his seal.

This evidently is an old tradition, the Bodach and Conn of Ced Mac Maghach being the same, and therefore point to some origin long before the time of Bruce. Rob Reoch is the ancestor of the Robertsons of Strowan, and this Strowan is dedicated to St. Fillan, and was the locality of an iron bronze-covered bell, called the "Clag Buidheann," the bell of the troop, now in the possession of Miss M'Inroy, of Lude. This dedication of Strowan is a very strong confirmation of the connection between the families of this neighbourhood and the so-called St. Fillan.

Supposing, then, it were accepted that the Robertsons and Maclagans were of the same stock, is there any further evidence connecting them with the Clan Qwhewyl? I think we may confidently say there is, because we find it common tradition among the Maclagans themselves, that they are, as they put it, MacDougals, which may, in this case at least, I think, certainly be written MacCuil and for this reason: we have in Irish *coil, cuil,* a corner, any private place; in Manx *cooill,* a corner, a hiding-place; *coillee,* a parlour, a withdrawing-room; Scotch, *cùil,* a corner, niche,

nook, a closet, any retired, obscure place. Compare with this the word *lag*, genitive *luig* or *lagan*, a hollow cavity, a cave, a den,[1] thus giving a common translation to both Mac-*cuil* and Mac-*lagan*. In connection with this, it is curious to find that the Macdougals of Lorn, who commence their genealogy from Conn-Cheudchath, commence their *historical* genealogy from Somerled, who, tradition says, was the son of Gillibrede, called Gillebrede n'an Uaimh, that is, Gillibrede of the Cave, because he is said to have lain concealed in a cave in Morven.[2] We thus find a connection between the name Macdougal and a cave; and as the ancestor of the Macdonalds of the Isles was a brother of the Dougald, the eponymus of the family of Lorn, they were equally connected with this Gillebrede of the Cave. Somerled's name is generally accepted as Norse, and it is interesting to note a philological connection in the Norse with this word *cuil*. There is a word of frequent occurrence on Runic stones, *kuml*, *kumbl*, *kubl*. This occurs but seldom in the old Icelandic writers, and is quite obsolete. It signifies—first, a sign, a badge, a war badge, especially used of any heraldic emblem; *second*, in Scandinavia, analogous to the Greek σήμα, a sign, sepulchre, monument, device; it came to mean a monument, a cairn, a *how*. Now the worship of hows and cairns was forbidden even in the heathen age in Scandinavia, as being connected with sorcery, whence "*bleatr kumbla*," a worshipper of cairns, a wizard, a term of abuse.[3] The name Macdowle is that of a clan at one time held in the highest respect in Galloway, a locality deriving its name from the Gall-Gael, or mixed Norse and Celts, and the adoption of the *d* sound in preference to that

[1] Macleod and Dewar's *Gaelic Dictionary*. [2] Gregory's *Highlands*, p. 11.
[3] Cleasby's *Icelandic English Dictionary*, voce *kuml*.

of *c* may (?) have been a concession to the objections of the Norse by the descendants of the worshippers in the hollow cairns and hows of the Celtic lands.

Let us notice that in the Norse the word signifying a how also signifies a badge of battle. Now Boece, at least his translator, Bellenden, calls the clan Qwhewyl Clanchattan. The meaning of the name of this clan is exceedingly obscure; but what follows seems worthy of consideration, as giving the clue to it. Among the ancient Irish, strange to say, we find a relic of Saint Columba, namely, a fragment of the copy of the Psalms of David written by him, handed down from a remote period as the heirloom of the Clan Conaill, the equivalent of the Scottish Macdonalds. This was called the "Cathach," and was used as a sort of standard for warlike purposes since the day of the Saint himself, according to O'Curry.[1] The name of this relic is evidently derived from *cath*, a battle; and if the name of the Clan Chattan should come from the same root, the difference in termination makes Chattan a noun, while *cathach* has in reality an adverbial termination. In Welsh we have the word *cadgun*, which Spurrel translates "the stay of battle." Is it not most probable that these two, cattan and cadgun, are the same? *Cad* is the same in Welsh as *cath* in Gaelic; *g* takes the place in Manx of *d* in Scotch, a letter interchangeable with *t*, and, in fact, sounded more like *t* than the English *d* in Scotch Gaelic at the present day—*chadgun*, *chaddun*, *chattan*. Whether or not the Clan Qwhewyll and the Clan Chattan were the same, and whether or not the Clan Donnachie were members of either of these two, there is no doubt of their close connection geographically; and it is very curious to notice that what is considered the oldest

[1] *Materials of Ancient Irish History*, p. 329.

existing relic of St. Patrick is called the "Domhnach," a word exactly pronounced like the first part of the name Donnachie. This "Domhnach" is a triple case of silver, copper, and wood, containing a copy of the four Gospels, believed to have been written by St. Patrick. It belonged to the See of Clogher, and the story connected with this place is, that when its first bishop, called Mac-Carthainn (the son of the Rowan Tree), was carrying St. Patrick over a stream, he complained of his weight, excusing himself by saying that he was now an old man. St. Patrick there and then gave the bishop leave to found the See of Clochar, bestowing on him the Domhnach.[1] What one may think of St. Patrick has been already considered (page 144), and here it is noteworthy that the name of the See was Clochar or Clogher, referring either apparently to a stone or a bell. That the manuscript is not as old as St. Patrick,[2] seems to have been the opinion of Dr. Todd; and, therefore, we may suppose that the "Domhnach Airgid," as it is called, now in the Irish Academy, is not the original of the legend. We rather connect the word Domhnach with the Latin *dominus* (lord)—the "tighearn" of Kentigern—already discussed. To return to the Cathach of Columcille: we find, from the inscription on its case, that it was made for Domnall Ua Robartaig, the Comharba of Cenannus, thus proving that it belonged to the monastery of Kells, said to have been founded by St. Columba, but of which the ancient name, according to the Annals of the Four Masters, A.M. 3991, who thus give it a pre-Christian origin, is Dun-*Chuile*—Sibhrinne (possibly from *saimh*, two animals, delight; *samhach*, libidinous, a handle (O'Reilly)), translated in Latin *Arx-Anguli-adulterii*.

[1] *Materials of Irish History*, p. 325. [2] O'Curry's *Materials*, p. 326.

Here you have the clan-name of the successor of Columba, Ua Robartaig, the same as that of the Robertsons connected with a place in which the word Cùil appears; while the Cathach was connected with a place called Clochar, from *Cloch* or *Clach* (a stone), occurring in the name *Clachinn*yha, a *Clogher*, from *Clog* or *Clag*, a bell, possibly occurring in the name Mac*clag*ane.

There is yet at Kells a stone building called St. Columba's house, in the upper chamber of which, between the arched lower room and the stone roof of the building, is a flat stone six feet long and one thick, called St. Columba's penitential bed. This house, Petrie says, was built by St. Columba, and occupied as an oratory and habitation.

One thing is clear, that as the apartment in which the stone was was one of three, irregularly formed in a space of twenty feet by eighteen, and only six feet high, it might deservedly receive the name *Cùil*.

Now, no one will suppose that the practices of the St. Columba of history (?) gave rise to the name *Arx-anguli-adulterii*, and however far wrong the Four Masters may have been in dating the foundation eleven centuries before Christ, the tradition certainly points to a pre-Christian time, and, we may suppose, to a "Scottish or Attacotish rite," as old Jerome called it. Referring back to the remarks already made as to the traditional poets of the Gael, it may be mentioned here that the name of the most notorious of them all is, in Irish, neither more nor less than the equivalent of the word here translated *Angulus*, an angle, corner, nook.

"*Oisín*, a corner, nook, a quoin; the proper name of a man; a famous Irish poet, the son of Fionn-mac-Cumhail."[1] So we find in the *Hanes Taliessin*, who-

[1] O'Donovan's O'Reilly, *Irish Dictionary*.

ever composed it, that the poet, when he went to Maelgun's court, "placed himself in a quiet corner near the place where the bards and minstrels were wont to come to,"[1] a seat so contracted that it is immediately thereafter called "the corner wherein he was crouching." So also a space was vacant at the Round Table wherein none might sit "till he came who should fulfil the marvel of the Holy Grail."[2]

From the foregoing, then, the conclusion is obvious that the names of the Scottish families, such as Clan Chattan, Clan Cùil, Clan Donnachie, Maclagane, etc., are not derived from the names of historic individuals, but are records of traditions of the earliest times of the Scottish people, evidences of which traditions exist in localities far removed from the district of country in which those bearing the names are to be found; and in special reference to the names above, it seems most probable that they have had their origin from a relic of the past, and that that relic was connected originally, not with Christian, but with some other religious rite. The Clan Donnachie may be called from the original Domhnach; the Clan Chattan surely is from some "stay of battle."

Now the Irish Cathach contains the Psalms of *David*, the name of the patron Saint of Wales. We have seen a possible change from *C* to *D* in the initial letter of one name, but we have proof in the following that such a change is not peculiar to that name. Skene, quoting, evidently with approval, an old Irish Glossary,[3] gives this derivation of the word "Dabhach," a certain measure; "Caba," *i.e. Cabea* (a cave, a den, a scaffold, a railed-in place), "Dabhach," genitive *Dabhca*. The word itself is not unlike David, and is

[1] *Mabinogion*, vol. iii. p. 371.
[2] *Popular Romances of Middle Ages*, p. 121.
[3] *Celtic Scotland*, p. 224.

very like a lowland Scotch form of diminutive, Davoch. Before 1429 the Clan Chattan consisted of two principal and six affiliated septs;[1] the two principal septs constituting the old Clan Chattan, called respectively the Clan Vuirich, otherwise the Macphersons, and the Clan Day, otherwise the Davidsons. If Cavea became Dabhach, might not Cay become Day? And here it is curious to note that the Clan Cay was the name of the clan accepted by those who, from Bower downwards, have read the word Clachinnyha as meaning Clan Cay or Hay; not of course that we mean to say that the Clan Day has been only so called since the date of the battle of the Inch of Perth. So early as 1447, strange to say, we find the family-name of the only hereditary keeper of a Bell in Scotland was David: in that year Michael David surrendered his Bell and its pertinents and privileges to Sir John Ogilvie of Lentrethyn; and, what is more remarkable, this Bell was called the Bell of St. Maidie, probably, as we have already pointed out, a corruption of Mo-aedan—the word *aed*, from which the diminutive "Aedan," being the accepted Irish form of the name which appears in ordinary Scotch writing as M'Kay. Now the name Cay, or Caiy, is especially applied to some of the upright stones or so-called "Cay" stones;[2] and curious to say, by inference we have reason to conclude that there was some connection between the name Columba, as applied to the Saint, and those stones. On the estate of Comiston, near the Pentland Hills, a few miles to the south of Edinburgh, is a so-called "Kay" stone, and it was suggested that the name *Comiston* was derived from this circumstance; but the proprietor informs us[3] that in documents of the year 1414 relat-

[1] *Celtic Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 315.
[2] *Prehistoric Scotland*, p. 95.
[3] *Scotsman*, June 29, 1881.

ing to the estate, the name there given was "Colman Stone," whence directly Comiston—Colman being, as already pointed out (page 154), the equivalent in Gaelic of Columba, a dove; and also connected with upright stones. The word Kay (Kea) for a particular sort of stone has already been noticed. In the Wallon we find that while the term *caie* is used to signify the small stone used as a Tee in the game of quoits, it is also figuratively used "rem veneream agere." There can be little doubt that this is a distinct survival from a Lingum worship. In the same language we find the word *Cati* signifies a lecher, a libertine. While considering this ancient dialect of the near neighbourhood of the Menapia of the time of Julius Caesar, and of the district from which came the Batavians and Tungrians, we may note that the St. David educated in Ireland is located as the patron of the other Menapia or Menavia—that is, South Wales. The name David is applied to the Devil in the slang phrase, "Old Davy," and connecting this with the water-surrounded Lingum, the Cai stone, (*gaia*, the earth surrounded with water), we find that Old Davy is a water-devil in the well-known phrase applied by sailors to the sea of "Davy Jones's locker;" the Jones being, we may conclude, connected with the word *Yoni*—the Shony of the Lews venerated by libations poured into the sea by the officiating person standing in it up to their waist,[1] the *Ballan*, the female organ of generation, the water surrounding part of the Cai or Lingum. The name "Old Nick," we are told, comes from the same root as the Greek νήχω, to swim.[2]

Now, let us examine what is said, not of David, but of Kai in Welsh regions, further than has been

[1] Martin's *Islands*, p. 28.
[2] *Norse Mythology*, vol. ii. p. 363.

hitherto done. In the *Four Ancient Books of Wales*[1] we find Cai "the fair" mentioned. He was thus light in colour, like Finn, and is said to have gone to Mona, to devastate Llewon; "his shield was ready against Cath Palug." The locality of the Cath Palug has been already discussed, and this seems to hint at a connection between the *Cath* Palug, the *Cad*gun, and the Cathan. In the *Mabinogion* Kai is described as supplying meat and wine in a golden goblet to Arthur's attendants;[2] and in the *Brut* he is called Arthur's Dapifer. These titles seem to have arisen from the doubtful meaning attachable to "Cai Gwin." Kai Gwyn signifies the *blessed* Kai, or the *fair* Kai; while Kai Gwyn means Kai the purveyor of wine.[3] We have shown that Kai is closely allied with Bedwyr (*ante*, p. 136, the Pict, the phallus-bearer, Arthur's butler), and they are possibly various names for the same thing. This connecting of these names with the function of a fluid-containing vessel is rather curious, when we consider it in connection with the Clan Clachinnyha, if identified with that written Maclagan. *Lagan*, a measure of ale of about a gallon or more, was used in Scotland, we know, as early as the reign of Alexander the Third, and this is derived from the Latin *lagena*, a flagon, a flask, a stone bottle to keep wine in; which is again derived from the Greek λάγηνος.

Some of Kai's peculiarities were, as described in the *Mabinogion*, his capabilities for retaining his breath under water for nine days ("nine days," a figure of speech for a considerable period of time; possibly the number "nine" may have a reference to the period of gestation), for the same period doing without sleep (without rest?). A wound given by him none could

[1] Vol. i. p. 261.
[2] *Mabinogion*, vol. i. p. 40.
[3] *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 100.

heal; and, when it pleased him, he was capable of rendering himself exceedingly tall, while he was of so hot a nature that he was as fuel to light his companion's fire.[1] The explanation of these allusions seems to be such as is incapable of direct elucidation, though it is not difficult to read between the lines. Kai was slain by Gwyddawg, the son of Menestyr;[2] *Gwyddawd*, knowledge, *menestr*, a cup-bearer. Does this allude to the introduction of Christianity? Kai had another peculiarity, that of exceeding swiftness, one of the attributes of Rob M'Sheoic ic a Lagan. Kai had also but one hand (or, shall we say, handle?), though great his power in battle. We have a curious account of the effect, however, of Kai's appearance in public in another *Mabinogi*.[3] Rhonabwy happens to meet Arthur and his host. He dismounts, and afterwards he "heard a great tumult and confusion among the host, and such as were then at the flanks turned to the centre, and such as had been in the centre moved to the flanks. And then, behold, he saw a knight coming, clad, both he and his horse, in mail, of which the rings were whiter (*finn*, white) than the whitest lily, and the rivets redder than the ruddiest blood, and he rode amongst the host. "Iddawc," said Rhonabwy, "will yonder host flee?" "King Arthur never fled, and if this discourse of thine were heard, thou wert a lost man; but as to the knight thou seest yonder, it was Kai. The fairest horseman is Kai in all Arthur's Court, and the men who were at the front of the army hastened to the rear, to see Kai ride, and the men who are in the centre flee to the side, and this is the cause of the confusion of the host."[4] There-

[1] *Mabinogion*, vol. ii. p. 269.
[2] *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 264.
[3] *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 404.
[4] Kai's horse was called Gwineu, *Goddwf Hir*, that is, long-neck.—*Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. i. p. 307.

upon they heard a call made for "Gadwr iarll Kernyw," and, behold, he arose with the sword of Arthur in his hand, and the similitude of two serpents was on the sword in gold; and when the sword was drawn from its scabbard, it seemed as if two flames of fire burst forth from the jaws of the serpent, and then, so wonderful was the sword, it was hard for any one to look upon it, and the host became still and the tumult ceased, and the Earl returned to the tent."

Davies translates *Cai* as signifying "association," thus making it the equivalent of the *quail* of the Manx, meaning a meeting. In the above Mabinogi we have clearly a distinct traditional account of the formation of a circle, as of a court or convention (*Quaiyl*, Kelly). No sooner do we hear of the presentation of Kai, the provider of victuals, the friend of the Pict, or of the *bod*-bearer, Bedwyr, than we see Arthur's sword appears with its two serpents and its effulgence; clearly the whole of these being one and the same thing. "Gadwr" seems to come from *cad*, battle, *wr*, a man; the Kadgun or Kattan, who is "Earl of Cornwall," says the story; but *Kyrn*, whence *Kernyw*, Cornwall, signifies a horn, and here refers to the drinking-cup of Arthur's pantler. Strange to say, the next character who appears in the story is Eirynwych Amheibyn, Eirenneach the Irish man, *am*, not, *hebu*, to utter, to speak, the synonym of Amlabhair; also translated the leper, the epithet of St Fillan. Now, in Irish tradition Cai appears as a lawgiver, instructed in the law of Moses, and who judged the Irish *before* Patrick's time by the law of nature. It seems, according to the *Senchus Mor*, that he left Moses after passing through the Red Sea with him on the flight from Egypt, where, being of the lineage of the Hebrews, he had been studying,

and then went to Greece and the land of Thrace;[1] from which land, tradition says, the Picts emerged. In the story Kai is made to join the sons of Milidh, and was finally landed among the Cruithnigh, that is, the Irish Picts. Kai's power of voice is also illustrated in the Irish annals. We have already noticed a *Saint* Gedhe of Inniskea; now, Kay appears as a *king*. In the *Annals of the Four Masters*, in the year of the world 3960, we are told, was "the first year of the reign of Gedhe Ollghothach over Ireland." O'Flaherty translates this "Gedius Grandi Vocus," and Lynch, in his *Cambrensis Eversus*, says that he was so surnamed because in his day "the men of Ireland had voices combining the greatest compass and power with the sweetness of the lyre." The editor of the *Annals of the Four Masters* says it is evident this is legendary, as "the cognomen 'Ollghothach' was evidently applied to these monarchs themselves, from the loudness of their own voices," an opinion that will certainly receive the most general acceptation, if either were to be accepted as a historical fact.[2] It has been noticed that the account of Geide, who appears as the second Pictish king in the Irish *Nennius*, coincides with that of Eremon, the son of Milesius, in such a manner as to make one conclude that they were identical, which would identify Milesius, the father of the Scots, and Cruithne, the father of the Picts, as the same individual—a conclusion we had already come to. Great power of voice was a peculiarity of Finn as well as of St. Columba. The name Mackay, as usually written, is in Irish Mac Aeidh, or Aoidh, the latter spelling more nearly approaching the *Hu* of the Welsh, and U of the Irish *firbolg*. We have in Scotch Gaelic itself words in which such sounds as *ea* or *ui* are interchange-

[1] *Senchus Mor*, p. 21.

[2] *Cambrensis Eversus*, c. viii. p. 431.

able, as, for example, *dreag*, otherwise *druig*, a meteor, a warning of death.

Now we find the clan Aedh connected in Irish legend with the so-called "Aitheach Tuatha," which latter is the form given to the name appearing in the classical authors as the Attacots. These are said to have been a servile race subject to the Milesians;[1] and in the Ossianic Society's Publications[2] we find the following by the editor:—"The Atha-tuaithe seemed to have been a race not entitled to all the civil privileges enjoyed by the Milesians, but to have been looked upon as strangers. They were not, however, slaves, as we learn from the following stanza taken from an old manuscript poem now in our hands:—

'Ni Mogha na buicnecta
Ni Mogha clanda Aedha
Noch daer an saer cinel mor
Nil dersa for clanda Miladh'."

That is,

"The herdsmen are not slaves.
The Clan Aedh are not slaves; no great free race is subject to bondage.
The Clans of Milesius are not under slavery."

In the first place, notice that the clan Aedh are here called children (*clanda*) of Milesius, and identified with the Attacots; and if we look narrowly into the possible meanings of the words in the stanza, we find indications of the foundation on which the history of the Irish Attacots rests. *Buicnecta*, here translated herdsmen, makes us think, if this is correct, that it contains the Teutonic *knecht*, a servant, as the original of its latter part. *Buicead*, we find, is a bucket in Irish, but whether a Gaelic word is questionable. *Buac*, however, is mist, a cap of mist on a hill; *buacain*,

[1] O'Curry, *Materials*, p. 263. [2] Vol. i. p. 115

the conical top of a hill, thus giving this clan Aedh a connection both with the Manx *kay* (mist) and the Irish *caidh* (a rock, summit). Why they should be a servile race, the Welsh and Breton give us the clue: *caeth* is a bondsman, a slave (in the Breton, *kaez*); hence the interesting episode of the servile insurrection which put Cairbre, cat's head!! (or rather Cai's head) on the throne of Ireland, and brought over Tuathal (Northman) subsequently from Scotland, to which, however, the story says he had fled, having of course been the son of a previous Irish monarch. One is also inclined to think that what we are told in Caesar of the fate of the Aduatici (has this been transmogrified into Aitheach Tuatha?—it is sometimes spelt Atuatici, and, in the search for a Gaelic derivation, A-ti-tua-ci will give a combination of the letters of Caesar's name sufficient for the purpose of extension in Aitheach Tuatha) is a part of the foundation of this story. These, we know, were Tungri, and were descended from the Cimbri, and were, on the capture of their town, sold by Caesar into bondage, to the number of *fifty-three thousand* persons.[1]

So much for a connection between Clan Clachinnyha and Clan Kay. We may now consider the other spelling of this latter name, as it appears in the *Registrum Moraviense*. It has been pointed out that the genitive form of masculine nouns is aspirated, and so the name Cai, if applied to a man, would, in the genitive, become Chai. The sound of this is guttural, and like the Greek χ. In Manx this sound is represented by an *h* simply. Thus in the Scottish we have the word *chaidh*, signifying "went," which in Manx is written *hie*. Thus, the son of Cay might, as already explained, be best expressed phonetically as Macqhay, and so the name

[1] Caesar's *Gallic War*, book ii. chap. 33.

of the patronymic becomes Hay ; or it might be Heth. Now, if we wish to find a historic ancestor of the Clan Aedh who was remarkable for his swiftness of foot, we find him in Aed or Heth, surnamed Alipes, that is, wing-footed, of whom St. Berchan says : "He dies without bell, without communion, in the evening, in a dangerous pass."[1] Nor are we wanting in an historical connection between the founder of the kingdom of the Isles, Somerled, and the name Heth. In the reign of Malcolm, the grandson of the Normanising David I., Somerled supported the claims of a certain person styling himself Malcolm M'Heth, who claimed to be the chief of the nation of the Moravienses or men of Murray. These, gathering their forces from the Isles, were defeated near the Cree, in Wigtown, having been supported by the Galwegians, whom we know to have been Galgael and Picts, and also by the so-called Moravienses themselves, against whom, according to Fordun,[2] Malcolm headed an expedition, and scattered them throughout the different districts of Scotland. If this Malcolm M'Heth was, as seems not impossible, an impostor, it is the more clear that he would adopt the patronymic which would most clearly express a connection with the men of Murray. The name Hay itself, generally accepted as a Low country name, shows a connection with this same traditional story in the account of the origin of that family given by Hector Boece.

In this well-known fiction we are told that, in a battle with the Danes, localised by our veracious historian at Luncarty,—

"This day had been the uter exterminion of Scottis, were not ane landwart man, namit Hay, with

[1] Fordun, Book iv. chap. 16, and *Celtic Scotland*, vol. i. p. 328.
[2] Fordun, Book v. chaps. 3 and 4.

his two sonnes, of strang and rude Bodies," "come haistelie in support of Kenneth and his nobilis." "This Hay, havand na wapinnis bot the yok of ane pleuch, traishting na thing sa gud as to stop the fleing of the Scottis, abaid in a strait passage with his two sons, and slew baith Danis and Scottis, whom he fand fleand, with his yok."[1] First, then, we see that Hay was a *landwart* man, an allodial serf (Caeth). We next notice that he was the "stay of battle" of king Kenneth; while the place in which he plied his "yok" was a narrow passage, *cadha*, phonetically connected with the words *cattan* and *cadgun;* and we have already seen that Heth of the winged foot, that is, the swift Heth, was killed in a similar locality. Hay of Luncarty's "yok" recalls the yokes of the birds of Gwendoleu, who was son of Ceidio (see p. 163). We may remark here that the accepted form of the word *cattan* as a patronymic is in combination with the word *gille*, a servant; thus "Gille Chattan Mor," the forefather of the Macphersons. This ought to signify the servant of a saint, and so a saint of the name has found his way into the Gaelic hagiology.

There is one other spelling of the name of the Clan Qwhewyl, namely, Quhele, that given by Bower. This name must have been different from Wyntoun's, and would seem to be in sound similar to the *queeyl*, a wheel, of the Manx; or to the Manx word *quaiyl*, a court of law; and most likely appears, or, at least, has had the credit of appearing, in the word Tynwald, the name applied to the mount in the Isle of Man at which the meetings for legislative and other purposes are held (*quail*, a meeting, Manx); while the legislative assembly itself is called "The House of Keys," a false derivation, most likely, as much as *Kay*, mist, which

[1] Bellenden, B. xi. c. 8.

protected the island in the foggy days of Mannanan Mac y Lir. That the sound of the word for this convention was like that expressing "a wheel" the following story shows. Some fishermen, long ago, arrived on the shore of an island which they had never seen or heard of, because it was always enveloped in a magic cloud. They landed, and presently there came rolling on the mist something like a wheel of fire, with legs for spokes. The result, as was to be expected, was that the fishermen did not remain longer than they could help in the locality.[1] This wheel of fire, most likely originally the emblem of fire called "Swastika," still appears in the arms of the Isle of Man. And let us notice while Aed or Aodh is in Gaelic accepted as signifying fire, and is said to be the name of the Vesta of the ancient Irish,[2] *Aile* is fire in Manx; thus the name Quayle, the equivalent of Macphail, does not, in all likelihood, really mean the son of Paul as a name introduced subsequently to Christianity, but possibly, originally, the son of fire.

In Irish the word *ail*, as already noticed, signifies a stone, a sting, a prickle. The first part of the name of the "Tynwald Mounts" might come from the word *Cheenney*, the Scotch Gaelic *teine, fire*, and *quail* = *co-ail*, a meeting, whence arise the stories of the distribution by the Druids of sacred fire at fixed periods. *Phaal* in Manx signifies a pen, a sheep-pen; while the same word written *fail* (Scotch) signifies a sty, in Irish, an enclosure, a fence, a den; thus having much the same signification as *cùil*, thus *fail-chon*, a dog kennel. *Faill* in Manx is also a ring, as *fail* in Scotch Gaelic, and in Irish, having in the latter a special application to a rim round a pot.

[1] Campbell's *Tales*, vol. iv. p. 386.
[2] O'Donovan O'Reilly's *Dictionary, voce* Aodh.

Quail might mean "son of the ring," a meaning which seems a likely one for his companion, Quinney, along with whom and a "measure of law and rule," Quail was introduced into the Isle of Man. *Fainey* is a ring in Manx, being a masculine noun; in the genitive the *f* is eclipsed, thus, *yn fer*, the man; genitive, *yn er*, of the man; so, *yn fainey*, the ring; *yn ainey*, of the ring; making *qu-ainey*, the son of the ring, as *qu-aill* might be also.

We have already considered Carausius the Roman admiral and independent ruler of Britain, and his lieutenant, murderer, and successor, Allectus, and it has been regarded as curious that while there has never been discovered any engraved stone of the Roman period which alludes to either, they, or at least Carausius, have left a record of their power and wealth in a very copious coinage. On one of these coins, which has come down to us in first-rate preservation, and which is figured in Wright's *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, p. 141, is, on the one side, a very carefully executed head of the admiral, on the other, a female figure holding out a ring to a serpent, emblem of life and reproduction, issuing from an altar.

Carausius was a Belgic Gaul, a Menapian. His name was *Cai*us, suggestive of the *caie* of the Walloon, while Allectus's name seems evidently to point to his being the Alloit of Gaelic tradition; whence Mannanan mac Alloit, which name may have been connected with the Gaelic *al*, a rock; they commanded men remarked on for their long hair and splendid garments, and expressly mentioned as "barbarians, whether really or *apparently* so;" and were the first in history who defeated and kept in check the Saxon, a name still unsavoury in the nostrils of a Gael, and were only themselves defeated by the central Roman power the

very year before we first find the name of Pict appearing in history.

Could we have a better nucleus round which to weave tradition, or is it not, indeed, possible that the bell so-called of St. Fillan is another sample of the skill in metal-working of the makers of the coin above noticed, and who may have found the Isle of Man a fitting resort?

Tradition however says it was a King Gorree who introduced Quinney and Quayle; Gorree, who first landed in the island at Laane (a fold, enclosure, circle), who is said to have declared that the road to his country was the "Milky Way," the Great Road of Gorree, as it is locally called; and the reputed founder of the House of Keys (*kee*, the extreme top of a hill). The name seems to survive in MacGoarie, Macquharie, or Macwharrie; also as Curry and O'Curry, and in this latter form very nearly approaches the Latin *cūria*, a court, place of assembly of the senate; in modern Manx, *Quail*.

Gorree's connection with the "Milky Way" seems best explained by comparison with the Aremoric word *gôrrô* for *goroi*, to milk cattle, bringing us back, not to a Gaelic, still less to a Scandinavian, origin for his name; and, accordingly, we find *gouére* in that language is the name for July, pointing to a connection with the primitive word *gor*, signifying bright, incandescence, a white heat. Gorree's connection with July identifies him with Mananan, worshipped on Midsummer's Day, while his name, implying brilliancy, connects him with the Welsh Taliessin, "radiant front," who was found, as we have seen, in a fish wear, for which the Welsh, like the Aremoric, is *gored*. Gorree was the introducer of writing among the Manx, as Ogma of the "sun-like face" was its introducer among

the Irish. Gorree was a Belgic Gaul, if he must be localised, though, like the Picts, he came from the Orkneys, having occupied them before the Isle of Man. The significance of the "ring" in connection with this Manx tradition is a matter of considerable doubt. All know its common use as an evidence of the married state. In early times, on the banks of the Rhine at least, it was a badge of slavery, as we learn from what Tacitus tells us of the Catti, a nation bordering on that river. He says:[1]—"The bravest of them wear also an iron ring, a mark of ignominy in that nation, as a kind of chain, till they have released themselves by the slaughter of a foe. Many of the Catti assume this distinction, and grow hoary under the mark, conspicuous both to foes and friends. By these in every engagement the attack is begun." "They have no house, land, or domestic cares; they are maintained by whomsoever they visit." The mode of life thus pointed out is exactly that claimed for the followers of Finn, the so-called Feinne of Fail. In Manx the name for a female servant, applied to Hagar the bondmaid in the Manx Bible, is *inney-veayl*, or *veyl*. Words beginning with *ph* drop the *ph* after *n*, as in the following instance, *e aal*, his pen or ring; *nyn vaal*, our pen or ring. The word meaning a bondmaid seems to be composed of *inney* or *inneen*, a daughter, a girl, and *phaal*, a ring. Against this derivation, however, is the finding of a small vowel in *veayl* or *veyl;* it therefore seems possible that it does not come direct from this word signifying a ring, but possibly from some such word as the Irish Gaelic *mael*, a servant, genitive *mhael*, pronounced *vhel*—a word which in the Breton has the signification of a soldier. The Gaelic *mael* is supposed to mean the tonsured servant, con-

[1] Tacitus's *Manners of the Germans*, para. 31.

nected with *maol*, signifying bald. Does it not seem possible that the circular tonsure was a way of marking this ring of servitude? The tonsure in Breton is called *kern*, in this form a well-known name for an Irish "fighting man," a name spelled in Irish *Cearn*, and meaning a man; and, curiously enough, it is in the tale of the Cearnach that we find Rob M'Sheoic, previously referred to, mentioned. This all points to a widespread custom among the Celts; and we may notice here that Carausius was a man of low birth, and though history tells us his followers wore their hair long, his portrait on the coin referred to does not show him to have worn his own specially long. In talking of the tonsure, it must not be forgotten that the original Scottish tonsure was from ear to ear across the head. As an indication of the connection of such words as *quhele*, *phail*, and the Mackays, in the Roll of the broken clans of 1594, we find a name Cheilphale,[1] and to this the editor appends a note saying, that they were a sept of Mackays descended from one Paul M'Neill Mackay. If such an individual was head of the sept, he must, we may suppose, have got his names from some previous tradition. One other curious coincidence, in connection with a name somewhat like the Caeawg of the Gododin, the man of the enclosure (*Cai*, Gaelic, a house, a way), occurs on an engraved stone near the southern extremity of Sweden.

This stone is called "Kevik's" tomb, and is generally assumed to be connected with a battle fought there by Ragnar Lothbrok in the year 750. On this tomb there is a figure represented holding up a vessel, closely presenting the appearance of such a bell as St. Fillan's, and

[1] *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, p. 39.

evidently held by a handle placed as the handle of the latter is.[1]

While thus considering pretty closely the names grouped round a particular historical incident, and showing a possible traditional connection between them, it would be a mistake to suppose that these were the only Highland Scottic names referable to the same traditions; for the clan, which Skene says was the special clan which fought on the Inch, the M'Gillonies, owe their name to the same source. Finn, like Columba, had the gift of prophecy—a gift which the former exercised when he chewed his thumb. The prophet, then, of whom the M'Gillonies were servants, may have been what appears in tradition as Finn mac Cumhail. The difficulty of finally settling an etymology, or deducing history from popular traditions, is not inaptly illustrated in the very name Hay. In speaking of the death of Minos of Crete, Cox, in his *Aryan Mythology*,[2] says that the name of his slayer, "Kokalos," is akin to the word Caecus, and possibly with Kaikias, the word which seems to have suggested the myth of Cacus. The name Kokalos "is made up of the particle denoting separation, *ha* and the root *oc* which we find in the Latin *oculus*, the German *auge*, the English *eye*. The same formation has given us the words *halt*, *half*."

Cacus was a son of Vulcan, and a keeper of cattle, and is linked with the Cyclops. Cecht was the patronymic of one of St. Patrick's smiths, the maker of the Finn Faidheach. *Caoch* signifies blind, to shut the one eye (Gaelic); and in passing, we may note that the expression denoting the want of a hand or foot, thus expressing one who is halt, is in Gaelic

[1] *Proceedings Soc. Antiq. Scotland*, vol. xii. Part II. 1878, p. 665.
[2] *Mythology of Aryan Nations*, vol. ii. p. 88, edition 1878.

expressed by the word meaning half (*leth*), thus a man with half a foot, is a man halt from the loss of a foot. But Kokalos, as Cox remarks, recalls the name of Coccles, "the Captain of the Gate," the brave defender of the narrow bridge over the Tiber, thus performing the same function as Hay of Luncarty—the latter's name having apparently the exact form of the particle signifying "separation," with which the "narrow pass" in which he wielded his "yoke" is directly related.

The Eth, as in Eth Alipes, is directly in accord with a connection with a bell; as in Welsh, *Aedd* signifies noise, clamour; and to bring this down to a historic fact, and to a localisation in accordance with the view that the clan Clagane may have been M'Ath or Kay by a varying etymology, we find that in 1232 a certain Gillemychel M'Ath, "excambs" a davoch of land in Strathardel, in the close proximity of the country of the clans Donnachie and Clachynnha.[1]

We have tried to make use of the traditions handed down to us as they appear in Bede, Nennius, Gildas, and the Irish so-called historians, down to O'Curry; and though Scotch written Gaelic records are not plentiful, it is curious to find in one of the oldest of them a manuscript[2] genealogy of the Highland clans, written about the year 1450, and preserved in the Advocates' Library here, the statement gravely made that the kings of Scotland were descended from a certain "Cruitenithe mac Finnfeiche," which is capable of no other interpretation than "Pict, the son of Finn Faidheach."

This latter gentleman was, as we have already shown, the bell of St. Patrick, the bell of St. Mac-

[1] *Celtic Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 344.
[2] *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, p. 50.

Creich, and of Ailbe, the instructor of St. Fillan, all already considered. This gives strong confirmation of the theory, which all before written tends to prove, and which the great veneration for bells in the Celtic portions of Britain further supports, that the real Palladium of Scotland was not a stone, but a bell. The stone in Westminster Abbey may be considered a "stumbling-block and rock of offence" to this proposition; but it seems clear that it was with Edward the First, as it was with Columba's marauding attendants when the sheep's head turned to a stone in their hands. Nor do we want proof that this piece of sandstone, believed by Mr. Geikie to be of a sort common in the locality from which it was taken, namely, Scone, was a relic without companions. In Langtoft's Chronicle, compiled about the year 1300, speaking of the conquest of Scotland by Edward, under the year 1296, says:—

"Thair kings Scet of Scone
Es driven ovir doune
To London i led.
In town herd I telle
The Baghel and the Belle,
Ben filched and fled."[1]

The bachal or crosier of St. Fillan is, along with his bell, at present in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland; and the possession of this crosier gave to its keepers, a family of the name of Dewar, certain rights and privileges as bailiffs, or as sheriff-officers, rights which we know were shared by the Earls of Athol and the Abbots of Glendochart, as set forth in the law of William the Lion (1165-1214), called Claremathane. The Dewars lived in Glendochart, and the Maclagans lived in the close neigh-

[1] Quoted from Wright's *Political Songs*, Camden Society, 1839, p. 307, in Dean Stanley's *Memorials of Westminster*.

bourhood of Logy Mached (*Logie*, of the sons of Aedd), of which the *Rath* was the head of the county and of the Thanedom of Dulmonych, and of the Thanedom of Fandufuith, a name already mentioned in connection with the *Four Ancient Books of Wales;* and this place, now called Logierait, on the authority of the *New Statistical Account*, was called "Bal no maoir," that is, the town of the thief-takers. Another branch of the Maclagans was located at Scone, and we have seen that the special doctrine in the latter days of the Bell of Mo-Aedd-an, in its character as Bell of Scone, was to preach against theft. The Bachul of St. Fillan is twofold, neither being of the same material as the bell, the more ancient crosier, of bronze, the bell being apparently of brass, having come down to us preserved inside of a beautifully-ornamented, comparatively modern, crosier-head, which was known under the designation of the "Coigreach." This simply means The Stranger, a name peculiarly in accord in its signification with the name of the Dewars, as spelt at the time when Robert Bruce granted them the custody of the crosier, when they are called *Jore*, evidently the same word as the Manx *Joarree*, signifying a stranger.

There can be little doubt that the Palladium of Scotland was a bell, and that it is the bell which has come down to us as that of St. Fillan, a saint as mythical as Saint Palladius, with whom, I have no doubt, he is to be identified. Further, while we know that Robert the Bruce had at the battle of Bannockburn a relic of St. Fillan, and thus evidently had this peculiar saint in high veneration, we find that connecting him with the coronation of our Scottish kings, as the stone was connected with him in its character as Lech Lafar for him to sit upon, so the bell of St.

Fillan was, in 1488, brought to the coronation of James IV. If this bell were used at the ceremony further than being merely present, there is no record; but from its history in latter days as in accordance with the traditions sought to be proved as connected with it from the earliest times, it fell to have been used as a head-piece. This is proved by the practices connected with it within the last two centuries, when, as a curative agent in the treatment of the insane, the unfortunate patient was pulled through a small pond, and tied to a seat, wet as he was, to pass the night with the bell on his head.

While the complicated nature of the inquiry, as to what facts are to be found in our myths, justifies the appellation only of notes as a description of what is contained in the previous pages, some further slight attempts to arrive at conclusions may be made.

While the acceptance of an explanation, founded on the Greek, of the names Maeatae, Picts, Scots, and Attacots seems to have long been current, and to deserve quite as much credit as any others, there is no doubt strong presumptive evidence that the Maeatae and the Scots were one.

We have shown how Maiatai, Vecturiones, Cathvreich and Liethali agree in meaning, while we have seen that the latter were driven out of Dimetia—a name almost certainly allied to the term Maeatae, and which also, we may conclude, occurs in the name Miathi, the name of the people in war with whom fell two of the sons of St. Columba's Aedan.

Now Nennius also calls the Liethali Scots, and if these various readings are synonyms, then the identification is certain, and Scot comes from the Breton for a branch. Now when we consider what we find in Ptolemy (A.D. 120), as to the people of Dimetia,

we find the Dobuni next them. But this name we believe to have been properly Boduni, which at once connects them with the "Children of Bethoun" of Nennius. Now these Boduni were part of, or subject to, the Cativellauni, who thus, most likely, inhabited Dimetia; and we thus identify the Scots and the Cativellauni, or at least we may say there is such ground as our traditions give us for this identification. And thus we run to ground the connection of the Scots with this curious saint—Fillan.

Now it is also very significant that these Cativellauni were the nation of Cunobelinus and Tasciovanus, the first British coiners. On their coins we find a head of corn (*criutneach*) with the words Tascie; a figure with a lyre marked Cunobe; on another a curious horse-like figure composed of knobbed headed things of the same appearance as the branches of the "hom" previously mentioned, and inscribed on the reverse, Boduo, which is sufficiently suggestive; on another occurs the word "Orceti," suggesting a connection with Cet.

Now what the peculiar ceremonies were which characterised this people it is not easy to say, but it is curious to find among the natives of North America, as figured by Lafitau in his *Mœurs des Sauvages Ameriquains*, published in 1724, a dance which seems perhaps to point to what may have taken place among our ancestors.

I annex a rough copy of the plate.

Here we have a barbarous people dancing what might be a "reel," in a circle peculiarly like our stone circles. The total number of performers is eight couple and an odd man. This makes it, possibly a sheer coincidence, much like an "eightsome" reel, and, as in this latter, there is what is called a

"prisoner," so here we have the centre occupied by three of the performers, who may be performing what is allied to the "jig," a dance of three performers. The green branches which they carry, and with which one at least is dressed (?), make them Vecturiones, while, if the belief that the bladder-shaped, crescent-ornamented things carried by some of the performers are inflated bladders or skins, used perhaps for causing sound, the bearers might be called Firbolg. The Americans figured may have been less advanced in the arts than the Cativellauni; but if the dance is a "reel," and was such as the Maiatai danced, it still survives after seventeen centuries.

Is it not also possible that the sprigs carried as clan badges may hint at another survival, while its effect on tradition is clear in the story in which Mac Beth is described as defeated by the followers of Malcolm (the servant of the dove) when they carried green boughs of the "Brynnane" wood to "Dunsynane," the hill of charms or enchantment (*seunan*, Gaelic).[1]

From the same connection then spring the stories of Beli Mawr, the "Crocea Mors" that slew Cassibelaunus, the smith Tassach that made bells for St. Patrick, etc.; and it even makes it possible that the men who coined the money which still is to be found in our museums may also have made the bell of St. Fillan.

We know that there were Cativellauni in the service of Rome, stationed on the wall, and it seems exceedingly probable that they formed part of Agricola's army, for the 9th Legion was the one defeated at Camelodunum, the capital of Cunobelinus, while hastening to its relief, and which had sub-

[1] Wyntoun's *Chronicle*, Book vi.

sequently to be recruited from auxiliaries. The conjectures as to this Legion being the source of the Spanish story of the origin of the Scots in Ireland has been already considered; and the name of Patrick's captor, Nial, who was also a forefather of Columba, suggests that the nine hostages, or rods, or whatever they were, from which he was called, owe their number either to the nine of the *ninth* Legion or to the number of the branches of the "hom,"—the tree of Life, appearing also as the nine golden apples on the fairy branch given by Mananan to Cormac mac Art.[1]

Nor is the name Nial itself at all opposed to the theory of a religious observance. The Gaelic for a religious festival is *feil*, a fair, *an fhiel* = the fair, pronounced *an éil*, which requires but a different distribution of the letters to make it *a Neil*, and this transmogrification seems to have clearly occurred at a place called *Neale*, in Mayo. This then would make the *Nial naoi ghiallach*, the Festival of the Nine Branches.

This invasion by the ninth Legion of course is long before the name either of Pict or Scot appears in history.

Now the strong points of resemblance between Arthur and Agricola and some of the later traditions have been pointed out; and from the Batavians and Tungrians of the latter commander we have suggested the origin of the Picts, and have drawn attention to the curious coincidence of the name of one of the leaders of the Tungrians, Campanus, and with these Picts we incline to identify the Tuatha de Danaans.

As in the time of Ptolemy, nearly half a century after Agricola, we find Dimetia and the Boduni in South Wales, so at the same date do we find Menapii,

[1] Ossianic Society, vol. iii. p. 213.

a people of the same name as those living in the country of the Tungri, settled near the modern Dublin, the district forming the centre of Irish tradition, from which we first hear of the Lia Fail, where, according to our already expressed belief, were first instituted in Ireland the Mithraic "Leontica," under the title of Lughnasa.

In the country of Dimetia was stationed, at Caerleon on Usk, the 2d Legion. Its badge was a goat, and it does not seem impossible that the sons of "*Uis*neach" and the Scottish sons of Gabhran (*gabhar*, a goat; *gabharan*, a little goat) issued from here.

Nor does it seem impossible that the stories of the Twrch Trwyth and the boar that killed Diarmuid may not have arisen from the badge of the 20th Legion, stationed at Chester. The former was stationed in what became Menevia and the country of Caswallan Lawhir, the latter in what became Venedotia, and was the country of Maelgwn or Maglocunus, while it had been commanded by Agricola himself under Vettius Bolanus, and would thus, if Cneaus is the origin of Cunaethus, in future times have a claim to be called "of the sons of Cunetha."

Now we know that at Borcovicus on the southern wall, now Housesteads, held by a Tungrian cohort, there is positive evidence of a Mithraic worship in the discovery there of a Mithraicum, the sculptured stones from which are preserved at Newcastle-on-Tyne.[1]

These Tungri were from the same neighbourhood as the Menapii, of whom we have found a division in Ptolemy's time in the eastern central part of the Irish coast. In this same neighbourhood the Lughnasa were, as the fable says, instituted in commemoration of the last Queen of the Firbolg. Now the whole

[1] Wright's *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, 328.

connection of the Tuatha de Danaans and Firbolg, and their battle on Midsummer's Day, seem, as already stated, to be but a myth connected with a form of worship, and one of these apparently Mithraic.

Now the frequent *Raths*, or enclosed spaces, in which are so often found subterranean chambers, and in which chambers are found the greater number of the Ogmic inscribed memorial stones, taken in conjunction with the Glastum-stained, secret rites of the British women, suggest a Venus *cultus*, which we know was, like the Mithraic, common in Cilicia and Phœnicia at the time of the first appearance of the Batavians in Roman history, as noted previously, about the date of the expedition against the Cilician pirates. This apparent connection comes out in the fact that the Greeks called Venus in some cases Mélanis or Méloenis, the black. And as we have seen the Welsh Demetia become Menevia or Menapia, we also find in this same district by far the greater number of the British Ogmic inscriptions. Now Lucian, the Greek satirist, born about A.D. 120, narrates how, in Marseilles, the Gaulish Hercules, Ogmios, was described to him as an old man, almost bald, wrinkled, and of a swarthy colour, like men long exposed to the sea, and as the god of eloquence, drawing a large number of people after him by slender chains of gold and amber, stretched from his tongue to the ears of his hearers. Lucian does not say that these chains were intelligible markings, but there can be no reasonable doubt that we have here the clue to the origin of Ogmic writing. The late survival of Venus worship has been noticed, page 91.

Now Lajard informs us that the oracles of Venus Myllita, a word signifying in Semitic, according to Lajard, a mixture of light and darkness, were delivered

by the chirping of golden birds, mechanically gifted with speech.[1] The Gaelic name for a bell is, as already mentioned, *clog* or *clag*, and it seems to have had its origin in the same root as the Icelandic *klök*, Danish *klukken*, the chirping of birds; hence also the German *glocke*, the Danish *klokke*, the Swedish *klocka*, the Dutch *klok*. Now, as Cath*an*, the battle *one*, comes from *Cath*, war, so Eunan, the *bird* one, the Gaelic name for our fictitious Adamnan, comes from *Ian* or *Eun*, a bird, a vessel, which became the St. John of Midsummer Day, and which seems recognisable in Ianus, the Roman sun-god himself. And here we may note that, while Adamnan's bell may be the Cathan of the Clan Gille Chattan, it is curious to find the name of the M'Intoshes occurring in the Welsh Ogmic inscriptions in the genitive of the Latin form Tovisaci.

We thus find how oracular sayings got from bells might be said to be the chirping of birds. In Gaelic *manadh* is an omen, a sign, incantation; and the leaders of the Tuatha de Danaans were Mananan, called Manawyddan in Welsh, the son of the sea (Mac Lir), Ogma, the sun-faced, and the Taghta, their priest, while over all was Lug of the Lughnasa. This priest's name signifies chosen or selected, and to him belonged the mysterious vessel which, translating his name as "lifted up," connects it with the palladium of Pharaon (of Phaland?), which was of "bright and *uplifted* front;" or, as meaning "brewed or distilled," discloses to us how it became a caldron (vide *toghta*, O'Reilly). If he also had to do with the mysterious Taghairn (page 47),—*tog*, raise, *gairm*, proclamation,—it had no more connection with "*cats*" than that it was done with the Cathan, whose "three

[1] Lajard's *Venus*, page 92.

shouts" we have spoken of so frequently, and to which style of proclamation even the historical (?) Somerled owes his name. Samuel becomes Somarle, a Latin termination makes it Somarle*dus*, and so we have another name of a man of three calls introduced into our traditions. His father was Gilledomnan, *i.e.* the servant of Eunan, and he was the son of the servant of the Veil of the cave, all descendants of the "Bowl the hundred fighter," "Conn ceud cathach."

Now, among early Greek writers, Callimachus, in his Hymn to Delos, an island like Man, Iona, Inniskea, Inchkeith, etc., talks of the Pelasgi as "servants of the vase that is never silent."

Who, then, better represents a Pelasgic stock than Maelgwn, the servant of the bowl, otherwise Maglocunus, the servant of the bell?

The origin of this never-silent bowl comes out in Gaelic itself, where we find the heavens called *Naemh*, pronounced *naev*, identical in sound with what is written *naebh*, a saint, a ship.

Compare with this the *Neev-ou-Gee*, the saint (see page 152) Geidh of Inniskea (page 153), the boat, the phallic stone, also the boat of Bagocassis, of Taney, of the chief priest of Mithra, and of Helias Grail, and finally with the name of the Macnabs and Macnairs (page 187), the latter being evidently Mac an Eather, the son of the boat, which Eather occurs as the name of a Tuatha de Danaan; King Ethur, otherwise called, apparently, Mac Cuill, who reigned in Ireland at the time of the landing of the Milesians, while Mac Nave was the name of Columba's mother's father.

Now this stone here called Neev-ou-*gee*, recalls how a stone has been, in Ireland and Scotland, considered the special palladium of the Scots. Gaia, or Ge, the earth, was invoked by persons taking oaths

in the time of Homer, and Hesiod makes Ge deceive Cronus by giving him a stone to swallow instead of Zeus. As the heavens surround the world, and, as was believed, the sea the earth, so have we this symbolised by the Yoni-surrounded Lingum, the German Hertha in her sacred lake, and St. Fillan in his pool. All things may be said to have sprung from these symbols of the earth; hence Mithra born of a stone; hence St. Cai of Menapia; hence Patrick (*i.e.* Peter), and Columba, the column or pillar stone; and so Cai = Gaia = Kai of Kaiomorts (page 169), as the "producer" becomes Arthur's "pantler"!

Now the Romans swore by Jupiter Lapis, that is, Jupiter symbolised by the flint, the stone from which fire is produced when struck, used as an emblem of lightning, and this, seeing the use of flint implements was so widely spread, seems much more likely to have been the stone used as a symbol than any other.

In the story of the San Greal we are distinctly told that the stone from which the holy vessel was made was "the most brilliant in the crown of Lucifer," the "light-bearer." This might well be the flint, but we are further informed that the name of the stone was "exillis." This betrays the fact that when this was written the stone was mythical. *Exilis* in Latin is thin, slender, shrill, the exact equivalent of the name of Fionn's companion Caoilte mac Ronan, son of the spear, with which spear we may compare that of Diarmid, called the *Gath Buidhe*, the yellow dart, or, possibly, *Cath buidhe*, the yellow Cathan, or "fortunate in battle;" the word *buidhe*, yellow, also expressing grateful, fortunate. Further, we find that Wolfram of Eschenbach, to whose dictation the story of the Greal in the oldest form in which we have it

was first taken down, tells us that he got it from a certain Kyot, an inhabitant of Anjou, whose near connection with Brittany evidently points to the original habitat of the story, who again had got it from an Arabian writer called Flegetanis.

Kyot is most probably an invented name, being certainly, we may suppose, the Breton *keo*, a cave, a grotto, the *cul* of Finn, the *ceo*, the magical mist of the Tuatha de Danaans.[1] And further, Bergman informs us that Flegetanis is not Arabic, but presumably a Latinised form of a Persian word, *Feleke-Dâneh*, signifying an astrologer. Is this the real origin of the name of the Tuatha de Danaans, and does it account for Mananan Mac Lir's being the best navigator of his day that frequented Erin, and how "he used to know through science, by observing the sky, the period that the calm or the storm should continue"?[2]

Now the shrill character of the stone shows that the subject of the San Greal story emitted sound, and we may conclude that it was of metal, and the work of the smith. Patrick, the saint, was called, in what Irish writers claim as among their oldest historical documents, the Tailcenn, or Tailgenn, or Talchenn ;[3] and it is noteworthy that, in close proximity to the passage in Callimachus about the never-silent vase, we find the *Telchines* mentioned, who were magicians, and worked in brass and iron. We have already pointed out Patrick's connection with the coiners of the Cativellauni, and we will now point out that, in addition to the Cunobelinus and Tasciovanus on their coins, the very name of this tribe connects them with the most notorious smith of our Western mythology, *i.e.* with

[1] Bergman's *The San Greal*, p. 6.
[2] *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. i. p. 78.
[3] O'Curry's *Materials*, pp. 617, 618.

him called Valant, which name assumes the forms Faland, Phaland, Foland—unmistakeable surely for anything else but our Fillan. This is the Wayland Smith of *Kenilworth*.

Vâlant is the *cheat*, the *seducer*, and, under the female form of Valandinne, becomes St. Valentine, who presides over our lovers' festival. Now in this connection we note that the brothers of the king of the Tuatha de Danaans, "Mac Cuill," mentioned above, were M'Ceacht and Mac Greine (the son of the sun), and that their father's name is *Cermna* Milbheoil, the first name being the equivalent of Vâlant, as seen in *cearmnas*, which signifies a lie, falsehood, a trick. *Milbheoil* is "sweet mouth." His other son, "Mac Ceacht," has the same name—"Mac Cecht"—as another smith of St. Patrick, and the maker of the Finn Faidheach, already mentioned, and appearing as the Pictish ancestor of our Scottish kings (p. 213).

St. Patrick was the instructor of St. David. St. David was a descendant of Cunetha, and Giraldus tells us that it was he who moved the episcopal see of Wales from Caerleon (the "Joyeuse Garde" of the French romances, from the Breton *Ker laouen*, the joyous city, the seat of Tristram the "proclaimer") to Mynyw (compare Mungo), afterwards called *Ty Dewi*, David's house, or St. David's. Maelgwn, whose name we have said was Pictish, and thus more allied to the Tuatha de Danaans, is especially identified as of the line of Dyfed by Skene; and he is Maglocunus, the dragon of the Isles. St. Patrick, it has been pointed out, appears in tradition in the Isle of Man, as encountering a magician called the son of the stone (?) Mac Lea, who (p. 108) "did fly in the air," but came fluttering to the ground at St. Patrick's feet.

This incident at once shows the connection, as *Folan* is a butterfly in Manx, and the fluttering fall of Mac Lea is unmistakeable.

From Man was got the magic shield of Conn Mac Nessa, at the prompting of the Clochuir. Mananan Mac Lir plays an important part in the island's traditions as a sun-god, being worshipped on Midsummer's Day ; and we connect him with the "Robbin a Bobbin" of the wren hunt, the Bobbin being, as shown at p. 109, evidently a bell, as the "Boban" of Caemhin was a principal relic of Ireland.

The well-known story of the "children of Lir," the father of Mananan, tells us how they were changed into swans, and are said to have spent 300 years in Loch Darvra (in West Meath), 300 in the sea of Moyle (the sea between Erin and Alban), and 300 at Irros Domnann (Erris, county Mayo) and Innis Gluair, a small island west of Belmullet,[1] and how they were freed from their enchantment on hearing the bell of St. Caemhoc or Mochoemhoc.

In old Irish the *h*, or rather a dot representing the letter *h* over the letter to be modified, was omitted, and this, in modern writers, is often introduced where there is not sufficient evidence of its propriety. Caeimhghin of p. 109, is then, except for the varying termination, the same name as Caemhoc, the deliverer of the children of Lir, and "Kevik" of the Swedish tomb (p. 210); and there is reason to believe that the *m* should remain unaspirated, and therefore should not be pronounced as *v* in Kevin, but as *m* in Kemoc.

Aoi is a swan in Gaelic, and in Knapdale, the seat of the Mackays (Mac Aoi), mentioned p. 135, we find a place called Kilmahumaig, their residence. This is

[1] Joyce's *Old Celtic Romances*, p. 30.

Cill mo Chaemoc (pronounced Haemoc), and therefore the cell of the saint, the freer of the children of Lir from enchantment at Inis Gluair. Now Kilmahumaig is at Crinan, and Crinan is the name of the Abbot whom fabulists make the forefather of the Macnabs, as sons of the abbot, and who married the daughter of Malcolm (the servant of the dove), the son of Kenneth (the sounding head, the head of Eth), king of Scotland, and was the father of Duncan, murdered by Macbeth. Skene suggests that Crinan "occupied some important position" in connection with the Western Isles.[1] Crinan is surely *Grianan*, translated a royal seat, a bower, derived from the root *grian*, the sun.

These swans spoke Gaelic, but while under the protection of the saint were chained two and two by silver chains, and only regained their human form when taken from the altar to be presented to Deoch (=drink), the wife of the king of Connacht.

That this story is the same as *The Ceatharnach* is clear, the name of the saint and the warrior being equally derivatives from the same word, as appears in the clan name of the Mac *Kays*, and because the Ceatharnach finishes his adventures in Connacht by a quarrel about his drink, which was "divided," as the children of Lir were separated, against his will, at the place where he encountered the "Bodach Mac *Ceo*chd."

The chains round the swans' necks are also, in the tradition of Helias Grail, those who become swans being born with chains round their necks, and one of these chains was used to make a goblet for their cruel grandmother, Matabrune ; and it was this swan which, being unable to resume its human form, from the

[1] *Celtic Scotland*, vol. i. p. 392. note.

destruction of its chain, led Helias Grail on his adventures.[1]

But the children of Lir were four in number, and St. Patrick served four of a village (p. 121), and this corresponds with the number of the precious things brought to Ireland by the Tuatha de Danaans, of which we have considered two, rejecting as untenable that the Lia Fail was a stone, and holding it to be of the same description as the so-called Caldron of the Dagda.

The other two precious things were a spear and a sword. Both of these are expressed by the word *lann* in Gaelic, meaning a blade. Now, there was also a spear connected with the Grail, and this was undoubtedly a phallus, as was the "sword" of the Scythian worship.

Lann is also an enclosure, a house, a veil. There is every reason to believe, as already pointed out at pp. 106 and 166, that at the Leontica the ceremony of the exhibition of the "griffins" was the disclosure to the initiated of the equivalent of the Scythian sword.

As the children of Lir were in couples, and taken from Caemoc's altar chained together, to be separated, and immediately resolved into their pristine elements, so I conclude each of the Lia Fail and the caldron of the Daghda was associated with a phallus; or, seeing one of Lir's children was a woman, one of them with a *yoni*, with which word we may connect the cake called a *scone*. Whether these were really chained one with the other or not may be a question. There can be no doubt the various meanings of the word *lann* supply, with the above explanations, all the materials for the utensils of the Scal of the Lia Fail and his companion when visited by Conn. Have we not in this also the

[1] *Curious Myths of Middle Ages*, vol. ii. p. 319.

origin of the Crom Cruach, the bloody Fillan (p. 177), for the spear of the Grail was "bloody," and the Crom, we are told, was crowned with gold?

This suggests what in reality should be represented by the staff of St. Fillan, and it must at least be granted as a very curious coincidence that both the staff itself and its hereditary keeper should be called by a name signifying the stranger (p. 214). Lajard, however, informs us that the crooked staff was carried by novices in the Mithraic mysteries.

In reference to the arrangement of these utensils, I have given a sketch of a bell picked up in Rome, the copy of one in the Vatican, which exemplifies exactly what all this suggests. Here you have displayed on a surface, marked on the original with nine concentric circles, that is, the same number as the branches of the "hom" and the apples of Cormac's branch, a dove (Columba), with expanded wings, which is concealed from view, as in a house or enclosure, or veiled by a bell.

The rounded form of the bell in this case accords with the form of the dove, as would the quadrangular form of St. Fillan's bell with what it concealed. Nor does the resemblance end here, for, as St. Fillan's bell has for a handle the rough representation of a sea-monster, so the handle of this bell is composed of dolphins, while St. Fillan's phalli are represented by what are usually called Cupids.

The Papal tiara which surmounts all, we must remember, is a Persian head-dress, and the three circles on it, one over the other, are as much in accord with Mithraic as with Christian theogony. We may conclude that the Roman bell is undoubtedly Christian; but we may as certainly conclude that the ideas expressed by it were pre-Christian, and most likely

Mithraic, a form of worship from which Christianity has not hesitated to borrow.

Finally, in regard to St. Patrick, we find in the quadrangular form of the Scottish bell the sufficient and, we may conclude, true etymology of his name. *Pedwar* Welsh, *Pevar* Breton, in the masculine the cardinal number "four;" feminine, *Pedair*, Welsh; *Péder*, Breton. Pedrog, as pointed out at p. 136, four-sided, quadrangular, the special form taken by *Patrick*. *Pottraicc* in Irish Gaelic is a vessel for containing fluids.—(O'Reilly.)

Morgan, the clan name of the Mac Kays, and the name of the traditional slayer of Arthur, is another link joining the idea of "brightness" with the sea (*Lir*), as Stokes[1] informs us that it is in old Celtic *moricantus*, *i.e.* sea-bright. Does Arthur's being slain by his nephew Morgand signify the time when the symbol became the object of interest for itself, and not as representing the "Ardoûisour" (p. 167), the watery element of production?

Since writing the above my attention has been drawn to the following, which I extract from a little book called *France*, published by Sampson Low and Co., 1881. At page 129 we find:—

"Tradition says that Brittany was evangelised by a British monk, named Samson, who, with six other ecclesiastics, crossed the Channel in a coracle, 'singing mournful psalms.' This little company is known as the seven saints of Brittany, and to them is attributed the introduction of the apple-tree; just as in Gloucestershire it is said to have been brought by the monks. Another of these saints was St. *Pol* de Léon, patron saint and founder of the cathedral in the town of that name. Of course he has his special legend.

[1] *Goidelica*, p. 119.

The Isle of Ratz being infested by a dragon, the saint, accompanied by a single soldier, entered the cave where it housed, tied his stole round its neck, and bade his companion lead it forth. Beating it with his staff, St. Pol walked beside it to the sea-shore, where he commanded it to throw itself into the sea. He is always represented with the dragon of Ratz by his side. A little bell is rung at the *pardons* of St. Pol de Léon, over the heads of those who have earache or headache, and marvellous cures are said to be wrought. St. Pol had always wished for this bell, which belonged to the king. It was refused him; but soon after a fish was caught and taken to the saint, and in its mouth was the bell! It is evidently very ancient —a square pyramid in shape, about nine inches high, and made of a mixture of copper and silver."

Legonidec gives under *peûl*, a stake, pillar, peg, column, as other pronunciations, *pâl* and *paol*, allied to our *fal;* while *peulvan* (=*falan*) is a long stone erected perpendicularly—a rough pillar, supposed to be an object of worship by the Druids.

Paol, the same word as the first, called *pôl* like the Leon saint outside of the province of Léon, is the "*tiller* of a helm." Compare *Cairpre Musc*, page 119.

Looking at this legend we have no difficulty in seeing its close connection with our Scotic traditions.

The subject is certainly not Christian. We have the introduction by the seven saints of the phallic apple. Whether Samson has aught to do with *samm* (Aremoric), a bundle=*bolg*, a bag or sac, is not clear, but St. Pol is unmistakable. He attacks his dragon, not only in a cave, but in a cave on an island, attended by a single neophyte (*mael*, a soldier, page 92). On the neophyte (!) he puts not the girdle of initiation, the *kosti* (hence the Gaelic *goistidh*, a gossip, god-

father, the father of a child to whom one is godfather), but the Christian stole, round his neck, and leads him to the water of purification, baptism, while with his staff (?) he beats upon the bell, that is, the dragon. But the bell is the king's bell, and was evidently of great value to him, as was doubtless St. Fillan's to the king who possessed it. Like St. Mungo's ring, this bell was given to the saint after it had passed from the king's possession by a fish; while, like St. Fillan's bell again, and like the "coppeen olain," it had and has power of curing affections of the head. Finally, its quadrangular form is characteristic.

To look for history in myths is like searching for solid ground while pursuing Will-o'-the-wisp. One may stumble here and there on a firm footing, but swamps, and fogs, and darkness are what are met with for the most part.

I however venture the opinion that the early invaders of Britain, and its occupiers for the Romans, supply the bulk of the groundwork of our early traditions; that the Firbolg mostly represent the Cativelauni, the Maeatae and Scots, and the Tuatha de Danaans represent the Batavi, Tungri, Picts, and Cimbri; that the principal difference between them was in their cultus, and that to this cultus we owe the greater part of the foundations of our early historic writings, our clan names, our popular stories, our most vaunted early saints, and two specially interesting relics, two, as seems likely, of the children of Lir, *i.e.* the bells of St. Fillan, otherwise Palladius, and St. Eunan, otherwise Columba, and that Picts and Scots roughly represent the followers of two forms of cultus, causing the story to arise that the first difference between them was a quarrel about a dog, for this

reason, among others, viz., the resemblance between *quallian*, a puppy, a whelp; and *Falan, phaland*, the saint, the smith, the seducer.

In saying that the principal difference between them was their cultus, we must be understood to mean, so far as they appear in tradition. While these invaders of Britain and Ireland were of various nationalities—Belgian Gauls, Germans, Thracians, etc., their descendants came to use the language spoken by their Celtic mothers in Alba and in Erin; while much of their tradition was derived from their foreign forefathers. Thus, while their language was Celtic, their traditions were drawn from the most distant places.

INDEX.

Adam, 95.
Adamiani, 101.
Adamnan, 49, 97, 221.
Aduatica, 4.
Aduatici, 3.
Aedd, 176, 212.
Aedh, 202, 204.
Aeneas, 71.
Aethne, 151, 152.
Afrin, 93.
Agathirsi, 51, 52, 55, 59, 60, 62, 75, 76; Agathyrsus, 58.
Agathoergi, 62.
Agricola, 5, 6, 7, 8, 27, 28, 48, 64, 218, 219.
Aidan, 156, 162.
Ailbe, 84, 213.
Aithirne, 123, 124.
Alaterva, 81.
Albani, 50, 52.
Albannach, 17.
Alipes, 212.
Allectus, 11, 207.
Allemanni, 44.
Alloit, 207.
Aneurin, 30, 81.
Anvil, 172.
Aran island, 46.
Ardoûisour, 167, 230.
Areani or Arcani, 33, 42, 62.
Arphoxais, 56.
Art, 95, 130.
Artbrannan, 49, 170.
Arthur, 7, 27, 30, 66, 98, 163, 168, 230.
Arthwys, 164, 167, 168.
Arx-anguli-adulterii, 193, 194.
Asaph, 141.
Atha-tuaithe, 202.
Attacots, 16, 24, 26, 55, 194, 202, 215.
Auchatae, 56.
Avagddu, 135.
Avanc, 122, 139.
Aysons, 187.
Bacchus, 60, 89.
Bachal, 155.
Baghel of Stone of Scone, 213.
—— of St. Fillan, 213, 214.
Bagocassis, 79.
Baile an Scail, 93.
Baiscne, 146.
Bal, 98.
Bal no maoir, 214.
Ballan, 97, 98.
Balmhaodan, 174.
Bandachlach, Finn's courier, 168.
Bangu, 137.
Bannockburn, 215.
Baptae, 104.
Bardic alphabet, 37, 40, 42.
Barding, 41.
Bason, 97.
Batavi, 2, 230.
Batavians, 2, 4, 5, 6, 12, 13, 40, 44, 55, 63, 197, 218.
Bede, 29.
Bedwyr, 136, 159.
Belen, 38, 79, 114.
Belennik, 79.
Belgae, 4, 7, 45, 53.
Beli Mawr, 78, 79, 114, 217.
Bells, 111, 114, 115, 117, 139, 143, 147, 148, 160, 166, 172, 187, 190, 196, 215, 221; Gildas's, 90; Gaelic for, 95; of Modan, 174; of Scone, 175; of Patrick, 178; of Stone of Scone, 213; at Coronation, 215; of Vatican, 219; of St. Pol, 231.
Bendis, 71.
Beowulf, 12.
Bethan, 85, 135.
Bethoun, 77, 216.
Bile, 160.
Birds, chirping of, 221.
Bleatr Kumbla, 191.
Boadicea, 108, 126.
Boar, 219.
Boat, 222.

Boban, 109, 226.
Bod Fergus, 85, 137.
Bodach, 140, 159, 227.
—— Nan Conn, 190.
Boduni, 85, 112, 216, 219.
Boduo, 216.
Borcovicus, 219.
Bowl, 119.
Brag, Braich, 53.
Bran, 134, 137.
Breacan, 53, 55.
Breas, 65.
Brechin, 67.
Breogan, 69, 72.
Briotan Maol, 43.
Brithguein, 78.
Bro yr Hûd, 120.
Broichan, 161.
Brude, 160.
Brugh na Boinne, 36.
Bruti, 71.
Brutus, 71.
Brynnane wood, 217.
Bucenobantes, 44.
Budini Thracians, 60.
Buile, 77.
Bull, 160, 169, 170.
Butterfly; 226.

Cacus, 211.
Cadgun, 192, 205.
Caeimhghin, Caemhin, 109, 226.
Caemhoc, 226.
Caerleon, 219, 225.
Caer Weir, 80.
—— Lliwelydd, 80.
Caeawg, 210.
Cai, 71, 136, 137, 166, 168, 169, 197, 198, 223; Cay, 196.
Cairnech, 73.
Cairpre, 119, 128, 203, 231.
Cait, 63.
Caith, 76, 77.
Calder, 44.
Caldover, 78.
Caldron. *See* Kettle.
—— of Ulster, 48; of Daghda, 54, 228; of Diarmid, 102.
Caledonii, 8, 9, 10.
Callimachus, 222.
Cambeck, 13.
Camelodunum, 218.
Camelon, 47.
Cameron, Clan, 181.
Campanus, 4, 117, 219.
Canninefates, 3, 11.
Canan, Clan, 179.
Caoilte, 223.
Carausius, 8, 11, 74, 207, 210.
Carrawburgh, 13.
Cassibelaunus, 217.
Casswallan, 77, 81, 82, 85, 119, 141, 179, 219.
Cat, 67.
Cat(h) Bregion, Vreith, 66, 68, 78, 215.
Cativellauni, 82, 83, 216, 217, 225, 232.
Cathach, 192.
Cathan, 139, 140, 221, 224.
Cathluan, 51, 52, 63.
Catiari, 56.
Catti, 2, 197, 209.
Cave, Gillebrede of the, 191.
Cearn, 210.
Ceatharnach, 67, 140, 227.
Ceidio, 164.
Cein, 80.
Ceithlenn, 101.
Cennberraidhe, 126.
Ceochd, 140, 227.
Cerberus, 21, 119.
Cerealis, Petilius, 1, 3, 63, 64.
Ceridwen, 119.
Cermna, 225.
Cet. *See* Ked.
Chains, 228.
Chattan, Clan, 181, 192, 195, 205.
Cheilphale, 210.
Chester, 219.
Cilicia, 92, 168, 220.
—— Pirates, 92.
Cimbrica Chersonesus, 43.
Cinge, 50, 76.
Civilis, J. or C., 3, 4, 64.
Civitas et connubium, 14.
Clachinyha, Clan, 136, 180, 183, 189, 194, 212.
Clag Buidheann, 190.
Claudianus, Claudius, 17.
Clochuir, 107, 226.
Clogher, Clochar, 193.
Cnaeus, 80.
Coccles, 212.
Coel Hen, 117, 163.
—— Lles ap, 165.
Coelbrenn y Beirdd, 34, 35.
Coelestius, 21.
Coeln, 117.
Coigreach, 214.
Col Frewi, 53.

Colaxais, 56.
Cole, King, 164.
Colein, 1.
Colga, 155, 159.
Colman, 154, 158, 197.
Colum, 154.
Columba, 50, 116, 150, 154, 176, 223.
Column, 115.
Comgal, 50.
Comiston, 197.
Conan, 29.
Conchobar Mac Nessa, 107, 123, 125.
Condus, 173.
Conn, 93, 95, 101, 125, 126, 222.
Connailt, 101.
Connal Ceatharnach, 48, 124, 125.
Constantine, 29, 73, 74.
Constantius, 11.
Coppeen Olan, 84.
Coranied, 112.
Corc, 146.
Cormac, 68, 159, 218.
Cramond, 13, 81.
Crew, Loch, 36.
Crinan, 227.
Crocea Mors, 178, 217.
Crom Chonnil, 178.
—— Cruach, 133, 177, 178, 229.
Cruimther, 176.
Cruitenithe mac Finnfeiche, 213.
Cruithentuaith, 68, 80.
Cruidne, Cruithne, King, 50, 52, 63.
Cruithne, 49, 50; sons of Gleoin, 51; maltsters, 54, 55; magicians, 63.
Cuailgne, 184.
Cuchullin, 48, 96, 170.
Cuil cinn, 178.
—— Menn, 164.
Cul, 111, 112, 193, 194 (Vanawyd Prydain, 25).
Cunedda, 30, 75, 76, 77, 79, 80, 81, 120, 219, 225.
Cuneglas, 29.
Cunobelinus, 216, 149, 218, 225.
Cup, 54, 57, 58, 59, 110, 111, 128, 151.
Curoi mac Darie, 48.
Cutraighe, 121, 146, 147.
Cymri, 2, 4, 7, 13, 40, 79, 203.

Da Bheath, 125.
Daghda, 47, 54, 145, 221, 228.
Dai, 126.
Dalaraidhe, Dalaradia, 48, 49, 65, 77.
Dallan, 73.
Damhoctor, 75, 76, 117.
Danaans, Tuatha de, 43, 47, 51, 65, 69, 92, 93, 99, 232; precious things, 56.
Δαναοί, 69.
David, St., 116, 121, 196, 225; Psalms of, 195; Michael, 196.
Day, Clan, 196.
Dealgnait, 51.
Dewar, 214.
Dewi = David, 120, 137.
Diarmid, 102, 110, 121, 156, 175.
Dicaledones, 16.
Dimetia, 38, 82, 215, 216, 219.
Diwrnach, 102, 121, 122.
Dobhair, 44.
Dobhar, 78.
Dobuni, 216.
Dog, 171; of Picts and Scots, 119; of Mithra, 170.
Domhnach, 193.
Donnachie, Clan, 187, 188, 189, 192.
Door, 105, 129, 160, 161.
Doorkeeper, 109, 160.
Dorsum Cete, 158.
Dragon, 70, 106, 108, 231.
Dublin, 219.
Dun Aengus, 46.
Dun-Chuile-Sibhrinne, 193.
Duncan sonnys, 179, 187.
Dunedin, 160, 162.
Dunstaffnage, 173.
Dunsynane, 217.
Dyfed, 120.

Ear, copper, 113, 114.
Easter, 115.
Edd or Eth, sons of, 188.
Edlenn, 95, 101.
Eight, company of, 76, 81, 107, 117.
Elias Grail, 116.
Emer, 72.
Equinox, 129, 149, 165.
Erca, 73, 75.
Erchbi, 52.
Ercol, 54.
Eridhu, 57, 73.
Erytheia, 57.
Eth, 212. *See* Edd.
Ethur, 222.
Etruscans, 63.
Eunan, 221, 232.

Eurmat, 110.
Ewen, 131, 132.
Exillis, 223.

Fad Felen, 178.
Fail, 98, 206.
Failinis—a dog, 171.
Falga, 95.
Fawn, Carnech's, 74.
Fearchar, 135.
Fedilmith, 151, 152.
Fein, 185.
Feleke-D nêh, 224.
Fenians, 185.
Fenius, 69, 71.
Fergus, 137, 151, 153, 164.
Fetiales, 111.
Ffichti, 20.
Fidhbha, 51, 63.
Fife, 63, 64.
Fillan, Faolan, Fallan, etc., 83, 84, 96, 104, 115, 144, 155, 177, 187, 190, 200, 208, 214, 215, 216, 217, 226, 229, 231.
Findruine, 94, 101.
Finn Faidheach, 178, 213, 225.
Fionn, Finn, 135, 145, 146, 147, 164, 168, 171, 184, 187.
Firbolg, 39, 43, 45, 46, 47, 65, 69, 77, 82, 99, 217, 232.
Firdomnan, 45, 46.
Fire, 131, 134, 143, 154, 156, 162, 165, 206.
Firgaillian, 45.
Fish wear, 208.
Fithicholl, 110.
Flegetanis, 224.
Foal, 95.
Fomorians, 43, 44, 45, 50.
Fountain, sacred, 50.
Fraech, 177.
Fraomarius, 44, 45, 47.
Freyr, 177.
Fro, 177.

Gabhran, 219.
Gadal, 23.
Gaedal Ficht. *See* Gwyddil.
Gaedhel glass, 69, 71.
Gaia, 223.
Gaiomard, 169.
Galar Buidhe, 178.
Galgacus, 6, 15.
Gambrinus, 53.
Gaoidheal, 22.
Gath Buidhe, 223.
Gauls, 6.
Gedhe, St., 153; King, 201.
Geloni, 60; Gelonus, 58. *See* Gleoin.
Geona cohort, 49.
Germans, 6, 40.
Geryon, 57.
Getae, 18, 59.
Gildas, 29, 90.
Gilledomnan, 222.
Gillomanius, 105.
Glass, book of, 157; cup, 161.
Glastum = woad, 71, 220.
Gleoin, Geleoin, 51, 52, 54, 61, 62.
Gollamh, goulou, etc., 92.
Gorree, 208.
Grainne, 85; Graidne, 102.
Greal. *See* Sangreal.
Griffin, 106, 228.
Gub, 51.
Guenedota, 81.
Gulath, 139.
Guledig, 28, 30, 173.
Gulinbursti, 108, 177.
Gulinus, 107.
Gwendoleu, 163, 167.
Gwengolo, 129, 165.
Gwion, 135.
Gwyddil Fichti, 30, 73, 74, 113.

Half, 211, 212.
Hallowe'en, 133.
Hammer, Thor's, 172.
Hay, Clan, 181, 204, 212.
Hazel, 134.
Hearndor, 103.
Heol, 116.
Hercules, 41, 54, 57, 59, 75.
Heremon, 51.
Herodotus, 55.
Hertha, 138, 223.
Heth, 204.
Historech, 76.
Historend, 75.
Hodain, 171.
Hom, 100, 218, 229.
Horse, 161. 167, 168.
Hu, 105, 121, 122; U, 201.
Hud, 120.
Huel, 162.
Hwan, 105.
Hylaea, 57.

Ianus, 151, 221.
Iardobhar, 44.
Iarndor, 105, 129.
Iceni, 64.
Iewan, 119.
Iltutus, 89.
Inniskea, 153.
Innismurry, 85, 97.
Inverkeithing, 115.
Iobath, 43.
Iogenan, 50, 157.
Iona, 150.
Ir, 65, 72.
Isidore of Seville, 29.
Istoreth, 75, 76.
Ith, 69, 70, 72.

Jack of the Can, 109, 140.
Janita, 151.
Jerome, St., 20, 24.
Jig (a dance), 217.
Joan, 161.
John, 140, 151; St., 54, 105; St. John's Day, 47.
Jore, 214.
Julius Cæsar, 179.

Kai. *See* Cai.
Kaiomorts, 169.
Kay, Clan, 180, 189.
Ked, 125, 128, 130, 144.
Kedicus Draws, 128, 129, 158.
Keith, 166.
Kentigern, 81, 83, 132, 144.
Kernyw, 200.
Ketti, Stone of, 130.
Kettle, 172; of Brecan, 53; of Cimbrian Women, 118, 119.
Kevik, 210, 226.
Kevil, 180, 183.
Keys, 109, 129; House of, 109, 205, 208.
Killeen Cormac, 39.
Kilmahumaig, 227.
Κώδων, 173.
Kokalos, 211.
Korschid, pae, 93.
Kosti, 59, 231.
Kowle, 183.
Kuml or Kumble, 191.
Kyd, 130, 140.
Kynon, 102.
Kyot, 224.

Lafitau, 216.
Lagan, 140.
Lapdog, 119, 169, 170,
Latin and Ogham, 39.
Leac labhair, 82, 84; L. Llafir, 144, 215.
Legion, 9th, 64, 70, 218; 2d, 219; 20th, 219.
Leith, 160.
Leontica, 127, 166, 219, 228.
Leper, 83; Lepers, 139, 145, 146.
Letha, 160.
Lethan, 159.
Leudonus, 131.
Lia Fail, 47, 93, 94, 98, 110, 113, 140, 142, 145, 159.
Liethali, 75, 76, 77, 82, 119, 215, 216,
Light. *See* Fire.
Lii, 98.
Lingum, 223.
Llanelwy, 82, 141.
Llew=a lion, 127, 129.
Lloegyr, 120.
Llud, 112, 113.
Lludd, 130, 140.
Lochlyn, 43.
Logierait, 188.
Logymached, 214.
Lots, 40, 110, 156, 157, 161.
Loutrophore, 104.
Lucian, 220.
Luctai, 50, 76.
Lucullian, 48.
Lucullus, Salustius, 48, 64, 65.
Lug, 47, 92, 95, 98, 101, 123, 147, 154, 158, 175, 221.
Lughaidh, 42, 72, 99, 123.
Lughnasa, 47, 99, 123, 127, 129, 219, 220.
Luguid, 69, 76, 92.
Luirig, 73, 74.

Mac, pronunciation of, 183.
Mac an Chuill, 111, 171.
Mac Ath, 212.
Mac Beth, 217, 227.
Mac Carthainn, 193.
Mac Cecht, 225.
Mac Ceochd, 227.
Mac Clothcon, 188, 189.
Mac Cochlain, 188.
Mac Creiche, 178, 213.
Mac Cuil, 112, 222, 225.

Mac Dougal, 184.
Mac dowle, 191.
Mac Eithlen, 47.
Mac Eth, 68.
Mac Gillonies, or Clan Maclanfhaigh, 211.
Mac Greine, 225.
Mac Heth, 204.
Mac Intosh, 221.
Mac Kays, 135, 136, 201.
Maclagan, 188, 198, 214.
Mac Lea, 108, 226.
Mac Lullich, 175.
Macnabs, 187, 222, 227.
Macnairs, 187, 222.
Mac Nave, 151, 152, 153, 222.
Mac Quharie, 208.
Maeatae, 8, 9, 10, 45, 55, 157, 215, 217, 230.
Maedi, 55.
Maelanfhaigh, 181. *See* Mac Gillonies.
Maeldaf, 120, 121.
Maelgwn, Mailcun, Malgon, etc., 76, 81, 86, 89, 107, 120, 126, 128, 131, 145, 195, 219, 222, 225.
Magenises, 48.
Magh Fortrenn, 65.
—— Girgin, 65.
—— Rein, 66.
—— Sleacht, 133.
—— Tuireadh, 66.
Maglocunus, 29, 86, 107, 109, 219, 222, 225.
Maira, 171.
Malcolm, 217.
Manadh (an omen), 221.
Manan, 78, 81.
Mananan, 47, 66, 150, 206, 208, 218, 221, 224; or Manawyddan, 92.
Manand, 80, 114.
Manus, 150.
Maodan, 174, 176, 214.
Maor, 19, 127.
Marcellus, Ulpius, 8.
Maun, 150.
Mauri, 18, 19; Maurus, 102.
Melanis, 220.
Melinus, 108.
Menapia, Menapii, 8, 197, 219, 220.
Menavia, 82, 219.
Menw, Mengw, 130, 133, 157, 227.
Menwyd, 130.
Merddinn 30; Merlin, 91, 106, 164.
Meschia, 170.
Mesgedhra, 123, 124, 125.
Miathi, 215, 157.
Midsummer's Day, 47, 220.
Mihr, 152.
Milcho, 90.
Milchu, 145.
Milesius, 64, 65, 69, 72, 76, 92; Milidh, 201.
Mistletoe, 162.
Mithra, 59, 91, 101, 152, 167, 223.
Mithraicum, 219.
Moira, 172.
Mona, 5.
Moors, 18.
Mor, 164.
Moran, 126.
Morava, 60; Moravia, 68.
Morcant, 77.
Morgan, Clan, 179, 230.
Morken, 140.
Morini, 20.
Muirbheach Mil, 46.
Mul, 143.
Mungo, 116, 131, 132, 139, 140, 232.
Mur, the wall, 19, 127.
Murcertach mac Erca, 73.
Murias, 47.
Mythdra, 93, 129.

Nantcharvan, 90, 141.
Neevougee, 153, 222, 223.
Nel, 69, 71.
Nemedius, 43, 45, 69, 75.
Nemnivus, 35, 42, 43.
Nennius, 29.
Nial, 70, 73, 218. *See* Hom.
Niall, Hy., 50.
Nick, Old, 197.

Octavian, 117.
O'Driscolls, 72.
Ogma, 47, 208, 221.
Ogmic, 26, 35, 37, 38, 40, 41, 42, 220.
Ogmios, 35, 114, 220.
Oisin, Ossian, 194.
Onbecan, 76.
Orcc, 75, 76.
Orceti, 216.
Orcus, 119.
Ordovices, 5.
Orpheus, 36, 37; Orphic festival, 55.
Ostara, 25, 115, 139.

Padarn, 162.
Palladium, 70, 147, 213, 214, 221.
Palladius, 132, 214, 232.
Paralatae, 56.
Parchellan, 167.
Pass, 164.
Patera, 79; Patarus, 80.
Partholan, Partalan, Parthai, etc., 50, 75, 76; jealousy of, 51; his son Breacan, 53.
Patern, 79.
Pedrog, 136, 230.
Pegasus, 167.
Peithwyr, 33, 34, 62.
Peithynen, 34.
Pelasgian letters, 36.
Penda, 66.
Pharaoh, 69, 70, 221.
Pharsalia, 55, 92.
Phœbitius, 79.
Picts, 10, 11, 12, 15, 17, 29, 33, 39, 48, 49, 52, 75, 148, 215, 218, 230.
Pigs. *See* Swine.
Pillar of Songs, 164.
Pol, St., 230.
Pollock Rock, 108, 126, 142.
Polmont, 13.
Priapus, 114, 115, 153.
Pup, 119, 164, 169, 171.

Quail, 207.
Queen of Firbolg, 47, 220.
Quinney, 208.
Quoal, 184.
Qwhevil, 179.
Qwhewyl, 180, 186.

Raedomantia, 140.
Ragnar Lothbrok, 210.
Ram's head, 143.
Raths, 99, 220.
Reaping Hook, 113.
Red Branch Knights, 123.
Reel (a dance), 217.
Ridderch Hael, 141.
Ring, 206, 207, 209.
Ronan, 223.
Rob, 140, 189, 210.
Robartaig, 194.
Robbin the Bobbin, 109, 226.
Robertsons, 187, 194.
Round Table, 107.
Rowan Tree, 193.

Salmon, 135, 141, 142.
Samhuin, 133.
Samson, St., 230.
Sangreal, 107, 109, 116, 118, 195, 223, 224, 229.
Sarran, 73, 74.
Saxons, 45, 73.
Scal Balbh, 80, 94, 95, 123, 229.
Scoloti, 56.
Scone, 213.
Scone (a cake), 228.
Scota, 69.
Scoth, 67.
Scotia, 69.
Scots, 15, 16, 17, 18, 23, 29, 117, 215, 216, 232.
Scuit, 16.
Scythians, 56, 57.
Segadius, 147.
Sego, 149.
Servanus, 132.
Severus, 8.
Sheoic, 140.
Shony, 197.
Shouts, 157.
Sidhe (fairies), 99.
Simon Breac, 43, 93.
Σκότιος, 22.
Slamannan, 78.
Slurach, 179.
Smith, Wayland, 225.
Soldier, 92.
Solstice, 105, 160.
Somerled, 184, 191, 222.
Spanish Legion, 64. *See* Legion.
Spear, 228, 229.
Sreng, 65.
Staff, 229.
Stag, 74, 89, 101, 109, 112, 132, 140, 171, 178.
Stone, 145, 147, 149, 153, 161, 173, 174, 188, 194, 213, 222, 223; Mithra, son of, 91; of Destiny, 119; Cay, 196, 197.
Sun, the, 92, 185.
Swan, 116, 117, 162.
Swine, 10, 131, 132, 141, 145, 167.

Tacit, 79, 80.
Tacitus, 2, 3, 6, 28, 40, 41.
Tadhg, 47.
Taghairm, 47, 222.
Taghta. *See* Daghda.
Tailcenn, 224.
Tailtin, 94, 99, 154.

Taliessin, 30, 81, 142, 208.
Tarain, 50.
Tasciovanus, 149, 216, 225.
Tasgitaus, 56.
Tassach, 148.
Tay, 6.
Tchinevâd, 170.
Telchines, 224.
Temair, 94.
Terrier, 122, 135.
Thaney, 131.
Theodosius, 44.
Thorketyll, 172.
Thracians, 36, 43, 51, 52, 59, 61, 79.
Tighernmas, 95, 101, 133.
Tiobal, 107.
Tonsure, 209.
Tovisaci, 221.
Traspies, 56.
Trausi, 59.
Trystan, Tristram, 136, 171, 225.
Tuatha de Danaans. *See* Danaans.
—— Fidhbha. *See* Fidhbha.
Tuisto, 150.
Tungrians, 3, 4, 6, 13, 14, 44, 54, 80, 116, 117, 173, 197, 203, 218, 219, 232.
Twelve battles, Arthur's, 27, 168.

Uisneach, 219.
Uladh, 48; Ulster, 90; Ulien, 131.
Ulfada, 68, 77.
Ulidian Heroes, 48.
Ultonians, Ullaig, 48.
Urbicus Lollius, 8, 20.
Urchair, 13, 100.
Uthyr Pendragon, 103, 105, 106, 130.

Valant, 225.
Valentia, 44.
Valentine, St., 225.
Vanadis, 71.
Vandwy, 28.
Vannes, 11, 71.
Vecturiones, 16, 45, 83, 215, 217.
Veil, 120, 138.
Velauni, 82, 85.
Venedotia, 36, 66, 71, 219.
Veneti, 36, 71.
Venus, 71, 91, 95, 107, 220, 221.
Viradesthi, 173.
Virgnous, 154.
Vreichuras, 67.

Wall, the, 70.
Weir, fish, 208.
Whale, 158.
Wheel of fire, 206.
Whelp. *See* Pup.
Woad, 71, 220.
Wreath, 99.
Wren, 108, 109.

Ygdrasil, 73.
Ynach, 117.
Yoke, of Gwendoleu's birds, 163, 167; of Hay, 205.
Yoni, 197, 228.

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DIRECTIONS TO BINDER.

THE OGMIC AND BARDIC ALPHABETS, . . . *to face page* 36

THE OGMIC SCALE, NATURAL ORDER, . . . ,, 40

ST. FILLAN'S BELL, ... ,, 84

NORTH AMERICAN DANCE, ... ,, 216

ROMAN BELL, ... ,, 229

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